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# The Guardian

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Stella Rimington's last coup

## M15 muscles in on crime

Guardian 2 with European weather



Media

## Piers Morgan follows the Sun

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Profile: the rise of a superstar

## Harvey Keitel: King of character actors

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# Blair plan for school fast track

### Reforms would let bright children forge ahead

Patrick Wintour and John Carvel

**T**ONY BLAIR, the Labour leader, seeks today to regain control of the debate on education by promising reforms designed to ensure bright students can forge ahead within a comprehensive system.

Writing in the Guardian in the wake of Labour's controversy over selective grammar schools, Mr Blair argues: "We should refuse to go back to selection, but refuse too to make do with uniformity."

Instead, he argues that bright children should, within comprehensives, be allowed to be taught in classrooms with older children. "Today we need a system where students forge ahead in areas of strength, breaking down the traditional equation of ages and stages."

Mr Blair's remarks are his first on education since Labour was hit by the controversial decision of Harriet Harman, the shadow health secretary, to send her son to a selective grammar school.

Although Mr Blair's refined policy may give children within the comprehensive system more of the advantages previously only found in selective schools, his aides insist they were developed well before the Harman controversy.

The proposals are a rejection of what he describes as "the traditional factory model of education" in which all children "are assumed to proceed at broadly similar speed in every subject".

In a keynote speech at Southwark Cathedral in south London today to mark the 10th anniversary of the



churches's Faith in The City report, he will also propose extra help for failing inner city schools by twinning them with more successful schools, and by making experience in sink schools a condition of swift promotion for teachers.

In remarks designed to assuage the so-called aspirational classes, he also calls for year-on-year pressure for school improvement, and to encourage every school to develop a distinctive ethos and specialism.

At the same time, Mr Blair seeks to reassure advocates of comprehensive education by insisting in his Guardian article that there will be no return to the 11 plus.

Mr Blair's strategy is designed to meet head-on the increasingly-confident challenge being mounted by the Prime Minister. Bolstered by his performance in the Commons last week, John Major said yesterday that it had been "had been the week in which Labour realised they would lose the general election, when the facade began to crack".

Reflecting the end of Tory

defeatism over the next election, Mr Major told the Sunday Telegraph that "anyone who had been in the Commons over the past week will have seen a revolution in atmosphere and in the confidence of Tory MPs".

Predicting a rise in living standards well in excess of £450 for the average family this year, he said: "I think the feel good factor, the confidence and growth in the British economy is coming back."

The economy and education have emerged as key battlegrounds in the phoney election campaign being fought by the major parties.

David Blunkett, the shadow education secretary, denied reports yesterday that Labour would backtrack on its plans to allow parents the chance to vote the country's 160 remaining grammar schools into the comprehensive system.

"Moves to open admission rather than selection must come from the local level," he said. "There will be no central edict, but if there is a desire at local level, there will be a ballot of the parents affected by the future admissions policy."

Last week's internal controversy over Ms Harman has also served to put extra pressure on shadow Treasury ministers to make spending on schools and universities an exception to the general rule that Labour will not give specific commitments of higher spending.

But in his Guardian article Mr Blair insists that he will keep education policy at the top of his agenda. Turn to page 3, column 7

Harman row, page 4; Leader comment and letters, page 8; Roy Hattersley, page 8; Battle for Britain, page 9.

Scottish beach a graveyard for whales that came too close



One of six sperm whales which died after being stranded on the beach at Cruden Bay, north of Aberdeen. Coastguards mounted a vigil to ensure that nobody sought to approach the corpses. Report, page 5 PHOTOGRAPH: CHRIS JAMES

CIA bugged UN in Bosnia

## CIA bugged UN in Bosnia

Ed Vulliamy

**A**MERICAN secret services, which this week begin their first open operations in Bosnia, have been immersed in the war since its inception — so deeply that at one point they were bugging SAS commandos in the republic.

Sources from within the United States intelligence network have disclosed to the Guardian that US espionage eavesdropped on "secret" communications between SAS scouts operating in Serb-held territory, and the Sarajevo command of Unprofor, the United Nations military in Bosnia, then under the command of General Sir Michael Rose.

The SAS Forward Air Controllers were in charge of pinpointing Serbian artillery and tank positions as targets for Nato air strikes against the Serbs near Bihac in late 1994. But the US sources reveal that Unprofor in Sarajevo instructed the SAS to withhold position co-ordinates, thereby neutralising the air strikes, in defiance of Nato.

Uncovering such details was part of the involvement by the US intelligence agencies, as the Americans became increasingly exasperated with the reluctance of Britain, the European Union and the UN to take a tough line with the Serbs.

The secret war, page 7

## British soldiers feared dead

**T**HREE British soldiers with the Bosnia peace force were feared dead last night after their vehicle hit a landmine near Mrkonjic Grad in west central Bosnia. The deaths, if confirmed, would be the first British casualties since IFOR went in. Two Portuguese and an Italian were killed last week.

## Privatised railways plan to cut 4,000 jobs

Keith Harper Transport Editor

**U**P TO 4,000 jobs are to be axed by the newly privatised rail companies in an attempt to increase profits, it emerged last night.

A 20 per cent cut in jobs is being planned by the industry, which is in the process of being sold off piecemeal. Confidential British Rail figures suggest that its labour force will have fallen from 125,000 in 1994 to 25,000 by the end of the year, though many of its staff have transferred to the business units being sold off.

The pattern of job losses is being established by the Wisconsin Transportation Company, which runs the Royal Mail and the royal train, and has just bought BR's three freight companies. It has told the unions it wants to cut jobs from 8,000 to 5,000.

Up to 1,000 jobs are also in jeopardy on South West Trains, a BR subsidiary sold to Stagecoach.

Although Stagecoach will not take over running passenger services from Waterloo to the West Country until next month, there have been management hints that staff savings will have to be made.

A reduction of almost 1,000 jobs amounts to virtually a quarter of the work force of 4,000 on this railway section. It is an important and largely profitable part of BR's old system, carrying thousands of commuters to destinations such as Salisbury, Southampton, and Exeter.

An announcement is expected from Stagecoach in the next few weeks, and the unions are in crucial negotiations with Wisconsin.

Low Adams, leader of the train drivers' union Aslef, said last night: "We have been given these appalling figures by management and are still hoping to avert these redundancies. They will strike at the efficiency of the industry and are totally unreasonable." The three new private pas-

senger operating companies are Stagecoach, Great Western Trains and the London, Tilbury and Southend line. They all hoped to take over from BR next week. They have made it clear they cannot guarantee all jobs and will have to review staff total.

Brian Wilson, Labour's transport spokesman said: "It is the same old story. The supposed miracle of privatisation means the loss of thousands of jobs and a reduction in working conditions. Passengers and employees will pay the price while shareholders help themselves to profits provided by the taxpayer."

Meanwhile, Railtrack executives are to meet the merchant bank Warburg, which is advising the Government, and potential investors to discuss the sale of the track operators this year. The Government wants to float Railtrack in May and is anxious to show the City that it is a good prospect in spite of political uncertainty surrounding privatisation.

## Du Pont heir gives up after police siege of mansion

Jonathan Freedland in Washington

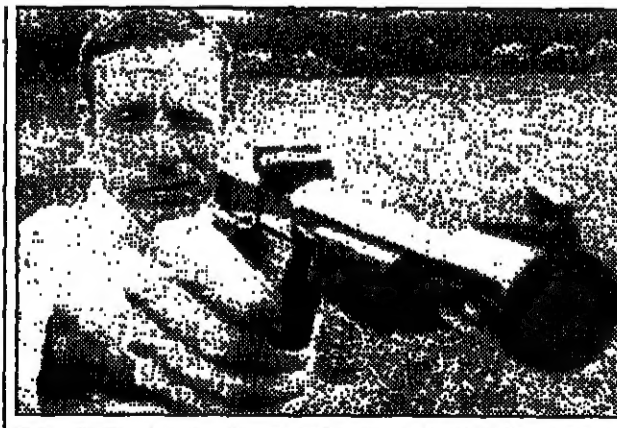
**E**CCENTRIC millionaire John Eleuthere du Pont, suspected of murdering an Olympic champion wrestler, gave himself up last night after a siege at his mansion in Pennsylvania.

Mr du Pont was taken to a local police station by a heavily-armed rapid response team.

Mr du Pont, one of many heirs to the fortune of the US chemical company that bears his name, is the chief suspect for the murder of a gold medalist wrestler shot on Mr du Pont's estate on Friday.

Police believe a paranoid and delusional Mr du Pont shot Dave Schultz — a champion in the 1984 Los Angeles Olympics — on his driveway in the latest act of a consistently strange life.

Police talked to the heavily-armed millionaire by telephone yesterday, as reinforcements and officers from an elite team of commandos surrounded the house, ready for a long siege.



John du Pont trains for the US pentathlon team in 1966

They maintained particularly tight security around tunnels into the house, fearing an escape attempt.

Mr du Pont, aged 57, is a skilled marksman and wrestling enthusiast who converted his 800-acre estate outside Philadelphia into a model training base, with a 14,000 square foot arena, four

wrestling mats, an Olympic-sized swimming pool, weight rooms and houses for 60 athletes.

He was the manager of the US pentathlon team for the 1976 games in Montreal. His ambition was to pack the 1996 squad with wrestlers from his Foxcatcher team, with Schultz, who was aged 36, making a comeback.

But friends and neighbours, who described him as a Howard Hughes-like figure, said his mental state had rapidly deteriorated recently. "The guy was a lunatic, and everyone knew it and did nothing about it because of his generosity," said Nick Gallo, a close friend of Schultz.

Mr du Pont pays wrestlers on his estate a lavish stipend. Speculation rose yesterday that there might have been a sexual motive to the crime. In 1988 a wrestling coach claimed he had been fired because he had rejected sexual advances from Mr du Pont.



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Sketch

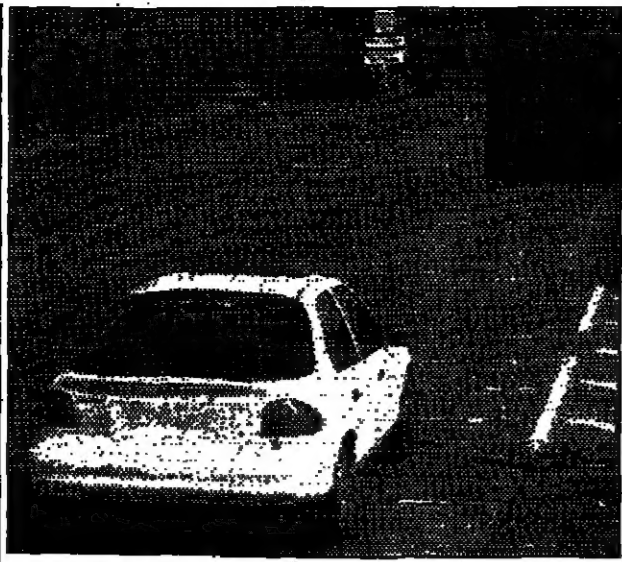
All you need is a band of old



Sally Weale

It was easy enough to find. The tell-tale queue of ageing rockers, their faded denim jackets plastered with badges, their long thinning hair blowing across their faces, gave it away. The Quo were in town. Yesterday saw the launch of Status Quo's 30th anniversary album in London, and Ann Brownbridge, a mother-of-two from York, did not intend to miss it. In celebration she picked up her imaginary guitar, flung down her head, and demonstrated the Quo dance with brain-bruising gusto. Ann, a factory worker who assembles hoses for a living, has followed the Quo around the world since 1968, has 750 of their records and queued for four days to see them at Wembley. When they broke up for a brief spell in the 1980s, she was bereft. "It was like a piece had gone out of my life."

but all eyes were on one man - Brian Wilson. It was a rare outing for the creative genius behind the Beach Boys. After a lifetime of drug abuse, Wilson, aged 53, has spent years battling to keep his sanity. Yesterday he was in Brixton in body, if not always in mind. "Which is the one that went bonkers?" one photographer inquired less than discreetly. As if he had to ask. The tortured soul of Brian Wilson is as easy to spot as Francis Rossi's pitifully thin ponytail. At 6ft 2ins, his hefty bulk swathed in XL anorak, shabby jogging trousers and deck shoes, Wilson is unmistakable. His face is saggy and pallid, his movements shambling and his conversation can verge on the incoherent. For example - so Brian, what do you think of Status Quo's version of your classic hit? "They've captured the spirit. They made our 60s record easily listenable in the 90s. That's the whole trick." He stops. So far so good. He starts up again. "I'm so blown out by it, I could scream." Then: "When I get scared I listen to music." "When do you get scared?" comes the question. "Last night," says Brian, his eyes fixed in some private terror. "I thought the devil wanted to take my life." Wilson is a man who has been to hell and hasn't quite made it back. For him, yesterday's appearance was something of a milestone. It's 20 years since he played in Britain with the Beach Boys, and even the journey seemed to have taken its toll. "I can't just go from LA to London like that," he says. "I have to carry my brain with me. And my medicines. That's all I've got." Not long after, he shuffles off backstage, leaving the rest of the band to deal with the press. Outside with the fans, it's more Fun Fun Fun than inside, despite the Siberian temperatures. Seventeen-year-old Evon Parfitt and Rossal would have to admit they've seen better days, but the five Quo members looked like fresh-faced children compared with their American cousins. They mimed gamely to their joint recording of the Beach Boys' classic Fun Fun Fun for the assembled media.



A camera on the A505 measuring a car at 60mph in a 40mph limit. It also records date, time and registration number

Speed cameras have reduced accidents and generated revenue from fines. Now local authorities want the money so they can set up more, reports Vivek Chaudhary



Around 40,000 motorists were prosecuted last year after being caught speeding on camera PHOTOGRAPH: GARRY WEASER

Councils seek cash to set up more roadside spies

HUNDREDS more speed cameras could be on Britain's roads after a request by local authorities for the money from fines imposed on motorists caught by them. The Association of County Councils and the Association of Chief Police Officers have asked the Home Office to pledge the fine money claiming that while speed cameras have been successful in reducing accidents it will be difficult to set up more or maintain existing ones unless additional funds are made available. Speed cameras are set up by local authorities using their own money. With increased pressure on the police to concentrate on more traditional crimes, the cameras have been identified as an effective way of enforcing speed limits. The Home Office and the Department of Transport have appointed consultants to look at their effectiveness and the issue of funding. Figures released by Hertfordshire county council show that cameras along the A505 generated an estimated £250,000 in fine money since

being installed 18 months ago. They have cut accidents by 46 per cent, 60 per cent of all drivers obey the speed limit and around 500 drivers a month are being prosecuted. Cameras along the A316 in south London have cut accidents by 25 per cent, with average speeds dropping by five to seven miles an hour. Accidents involving personal injury fell by 41 per cent. In 1994, more than 20,000 motorists were prosecuted after being caught by speed cameras, and around 40,000 were prosecuted last year. That figure is expected to double for this year as more cameras are set up around the country. A spokesman for Hertfordshire county council said: "We are discussing the hypothesis of the fine money with the Home Office. At the moment the Lord Chancellor's department is not prepared to redirect to local authorities because maintaining speed cameras is very costly and involves a lot of excess paper work. If some of the money was returned to us it would help us to maintain a costly system of cameras." A speed camera costs around £28,000 to buy and £15,000 a year to maintain. Around 40 local authorities use them, at locations notorious for speeding or accident blackspots. A national working group has also been set up by Gloucestershire county council to discuss the issue. Mike Hallowell, area traffic manager for the county, said: "The national trend is that if cameras are introduced then there's a very good chance there will be a reduction in the accident rate. Clearly, if the fine money was returned to local authorities then it would give us more financial freedom to set up other cameras." Gloucestershire has 14 speed cameras and there has been a 32 per cent reduction in the accident rate. In Cornwall, which has 16 cameras, figures show a 30 per cent reduction in personal injury accidents and a 21 per cent reduction in speed related accidents. What concerns many, however, is that speed cameras

should not be seen as a means of raising revenue for local authorities. Robert Jackson, Conservative MP for Wantage, who has raised the issue of redirecting money from fines in the Commons said: "As a road safety system speed cameras have been excellent. But what is of concern is that they should not become another revenue source. That would destroy the credibility of the system." A spokesman for the AA said: "We have been great supporters of speed cameras but they should not be seen as a replacement for police patrols and should not be used to generate revenue." According to the AA, speed cameras account for 30 per cent of all accidents, causing an estimated 1,000 deaths per year. Speed cameras were first introduced in 1992. "It's a system that's in implementation 24 hours per day, no need for meal breaks and it's very productive in terms of the number of people it detects," said Sergeant Peter Smith of the Thames Valley traffic division, one of the first forces in the country to introduce speed cameras. They were aware they had passed a camera zone and had been watching their speed. "They do make you slow down because you know that there's very little you can say in your defence because they've got you on camera," said Anil Bangar, in a brand-new BMW. "My car can shift but as soon as I see the camera signs I slow down. I just walk until there's no cameras and then I know I can bomb it. I think that's what most drivers do." One man, who admitted a speed camera had just flashed as he was making his way home, said: "I think most of the time they just flash but there's no camera inside the box. It's a bit of a con. But they are very effective. I think it's better to have cameras because it gives the police the time to get on with other things." Derek Moore who drives along the A40 regularly, said: "There's a lot of boy racers out there and it's impossible for the police to be everywhere. I think they should set cameras up along all roads. It would cut accidents and make driving a lot safer."

First night

Snarling back on to the scene

Susan Corrigan

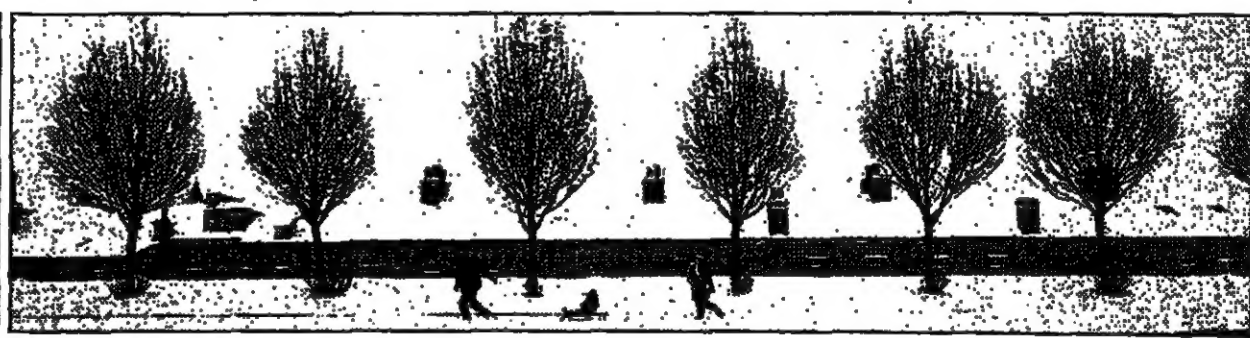
FOR NEARLY two years, circumstance has forced Suede's leader Brett Anderson to keep shtum while rivals such as Blur, Pulp or Oasis capitalised - critically and financially - on the musical agenda set by the singer. While Damon Albarn wrote accomplished three-minute manifestos on the state of modern Britain, Jarvis Cocker became lovable, and the brothers Gallagher indulged their all-lads-together need to turn the whole affair into little more than a willy-measuring contest, Suede were hiding their time. They had little choice. The precocious 19-year-old Richard Oakes, plucked from deepest Dorset as a replacement for Bernard Butler, who left the band acrimoniously, needed the hiatus to gel with his older, more experienced, song-writing partner. While the hype of Britpop burned on in the foreground, Suede fiddled. Saturday's unveiling of the lean, fighting Suede mark II served impolite notice to the pop cognoscenti, and not before time. Written by Anderson and soundtracked by Oakes, eight new songs unveiled at this secret gig in central London showed that Suede have made the most of their fallow period. Though these offerings will not appear on record until later this year, an audience of their fan club members appreciated the performance. The pinched, irritated

spectre of Butler loomed heavily, due mostly to the presence of the guitarist's last collaborator, the angel-voiced David McAlmont, among the audience, who hassled him for his opinions and his autograph. A newly rake-thin and seemingly healthy Anderson, dressed down in the immaculate fitted white shirt and blazers of yore, looked as if he was back to burn: snarling, performing acts of self-abuse with his microphone, inciting his audience of androgynous teens into a frenzy of Dionysian proportions. Like the singer, the new compositions are pared-down and direct, and they shock like a slap in the face. The lyricist has refined his approach. Suede's appeal has always stemmed from Anderson's ability to focus on the suffocating narcissism of relationships and the deadly importance of adolescent rebellion. Still consumed by love and obsession, but using the wisdom of maturity to make his lyrics simple and direct, Anderson triumphs over his words rather than being so obviously ruled by his thesaurus. If he is carried away, as in She and Lovely Day, this soaring quality is attributable only to the hike-off of Anderson's stunning voice. Marry this to the plangent Mick Ronsonism of Oakes's playing, and romps like The Beautiful Ones and Lazy become poison pop singles-to-be, signifiers of outsider status. Hindsight always looks kindly on the bands who stick to their vision. Don't call Suede's return a comeback - that happens this spring.

Threat of worst blackouts in 20 years

Sarah Fyfe, Ian King and John Mullin

THE first widespread power blackouts in 20 years are threatened today as extreme weather conditions put unprecedented pressure on the National Grid. The newly privatised National Grid, which narrowly avoided blackouts over the weekend, warned the 12 regional electricity companies in England and Wales yesterday that cuts of 5 to 10 per cent in power levels might be necessary this afternoon. The electricity system has managed to escape shutdown by a close margin since the last six months. The three main power generating companies in England and Wales said they were bringing all available plant on line to cope with the record demand, but they were hit by weather-related and gas supply problems of their own. Nuclear Electric said its Hartlepool power station was



Making the most of snow in Bradford yesterday. The cold weather is expected to continue PHOTOGRAPH: TIM SMITH

running again from 6pm last night after losing half its output - equivalent to electricity for half a million homes - over the weekend. High winds indirectly triggered a safety mechanism which shut down part of the plant. It also rushed forward work at another northern station, Heysham, to create enough power for 250,000 households. Powergen and National Power were asked by the Grid to bring plant out of mothballs to help to avert the potential crisis, which could have plunged 2 million

homes into darkness over the weekend. A National Power spokesman said: "We will make everything available that we can but there is always some of the plant which is unavailable and it depends on whether the gas supply is there in full." British Gas's distribution company Transco had warned power stations and other big users on special contracts to expect their taps to be turned off because it could not supply all their needs. Powergen said it had brought two oil-fired and one coal-

fired station into use and was not affected by the interruptible contracts. Spokesman John Scott said: "We are hoping to trim back demand a little bit so that no one will lose supply." Several people died at the weekend because of the cold weather, and temperatures were dropping again last night after a brief thaw. Most of the fatalities came in car crashes, but one woman, Pauline Brown, a nurse, died after falling to make it to the door of her house in Workington after a night out

with friends. Neighbours found Mrs Brown, aged 57, who had taken a taxi home, within a foot of her door suffering from hypothermia, but she died 10 hours later in hospital. One woman died in an accident during snowfalls on the M1 in west Yorkshire, and another was seriously injured in a pile-up on the M1 at Highgill, near Wakefield, which police blamed on the weather. Police were angry with a Derbyshire woman who went for a walk in a blizzard. Rescuers risked their lives to

release her from chest deep snow in the Peak District. Four climbers missing in treacherous conditions overnight turned up safe and well in the Cairngorms, Aviemore. A man died in north London after his car skidded into the River Lea, and divers were searching for a second man believed to have been in the car. Police closed roads in several regions, with the Borders particularly hard hit. The roads were reopened last night, but officers expected many to be closed again when temperatures drop once more. The AA and RAC reported twice as many calls as usual, with drivers slithering off the roads in what they described as hellish conditions. The Government has started to pay cold weather benefit payments of up to £8.50 to thousands of pensioners and people on income support. Cold weather is likely to continue throughout the week, with freezing winds of up to 35mph blowing in from Russia, but further snowfalls are thought to be unlikely.

Redundancy fears as opportunity board plans budget cuts Blair backs fast track in schools

Owen Bowcott

THE Equal Opportunities Commission, celebrating 20 years of campaigning for fairness in the workplace, is being forced to consider mass redundancies - amid claims that board members may receive higher payments. The financial crisis, which has prompted threats of industrial action, has been precipitated by Treasury cuts which reduce the commission's overall budget by 5 per cent from April.

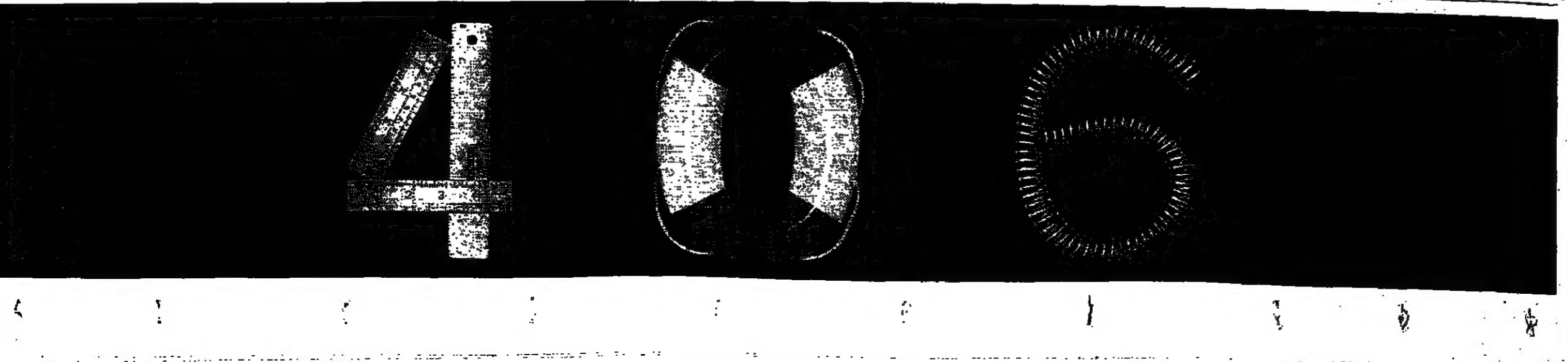
Negotiations over rival options have added to disagreements within the organisation - chaired by a commercial solicitor and former Conservative activist, Kamlesh Bahl - over the political and social priorities of the commission. Among cutbacks proposed are up to 20 redundancies, closing the EOC's library to the public, slashing by three-quarters grants available for fighting test discrimination cases, and reducing the research budget. But what has angered the

180 staff, most of whom work at the commission's head office in Manchester, are plans to recruit a second deputy chairman and an increase in the scheduled number of meetings of part-time commissioners. Since commissioners are partly paid by attendance, they stand to receive larger pay packets, trade union sources claim. Insisting that extra commission meetings would not lead to added expenses, Ms Bahl said: "We will consider all possible options. There is

a process of consultation taking place with staff and unions to make sure we can continue to provide the services we are obliged to by statute." More than 80 MPs have signed an early day motion in the Commons condemning the cutbacks. But in an amendment to the motion, Ann Winterton, Conservative MP for Congleton, accused the commission yesterday of a "deplorable imbalance" in the number of women it employs (82.4 per cent) compared with men (17.6 per cent).

continued from page 1 top of his agenda. He challenged the personal decisions of most government ministers to reject state schools altogether. "If a few more Conservative ministers actually used the state sector for their own children, they would come to realise what the real concerns of parents actually are," he says. However, Mr Major's performance has fuelled pressure in the group preparing the Conservative manifesto for faster progress towards aboli-

tion of local education authorities. The Conservatives also believe the breach they opened in Labour's defences will allow them to extend the charge of Labour hypocrisy right across the board. The Deputy Prime Minister, Michael Heseltine, claimed yesterday that Labour's voting record showed it was traditionally on the side of the villain. Gordon Brown, the shadow chancellor, accused the Conservative Party of sinking to a new low in smears and dirty tricks.



مكتبة من الدول

Ethical not a bloo

Boy, dead

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# Ethiopians riot over 'blood bias'

Derek Brown in Jerusalem

ISRAELI authorities were sticking yesterday to their policy of destroying most donations to the country's blood bank, despite protests by thousands of Ethiopian immigrants who besieged the prime minister's office alleging official racism.

Their protest was sparked by the admission of health officials that almost all Ethiopian blood was destroyed for fear that its use in transfusions could spread Aids. Dozens were injured when police fired tear gas, rubber-coated bullets and water cannon to disperse the frenzied demonstration. At least 30 police were wounded when the Ethiopians hurled stones, at one point threatening to break through the cordon of guards around the building.

The battle lasted several hours. It ended when Shimon Peres, the prime minister, met a delegation of protesters, announcing later that the government would establish a committee of inquiry.

The Israel blood bank is also to insert a line in the form for donors saying that medical discretion will govern the use of all donated blood.

Mr Peres "apologised in the name of the government and on his own behalf, even though none of the government members knew about the disposal of donated blood. His spokeswoman said he praised the Ethiopian immigrants.

The daily newspaper, Ma'ariv, revealed last week that virtually all blood donated by Ethiopians is thrown away. Only donations of the rarest blood groups are frozen and checked after six months for the HIV virus.

Ephraim Sneh, the health minister, defended the policy, saying it also applied to other high-risk groups, such as homosexuals and drug abusers. Officials said Ethiopians were not told of the policy to save them embarrassment. "We thought that singling out an ethnic group and telling them to go home would be more offensive and embarrassing," an official from the blood transfusion service told the Jerusalem Post.

There was little sign of embarrassment more of fury yesterday. "Although our skin is black, our blood is as red as yours and we are just as Jewish as you are," read one banner at the demonstration. "Apartheid in Israel", read another.

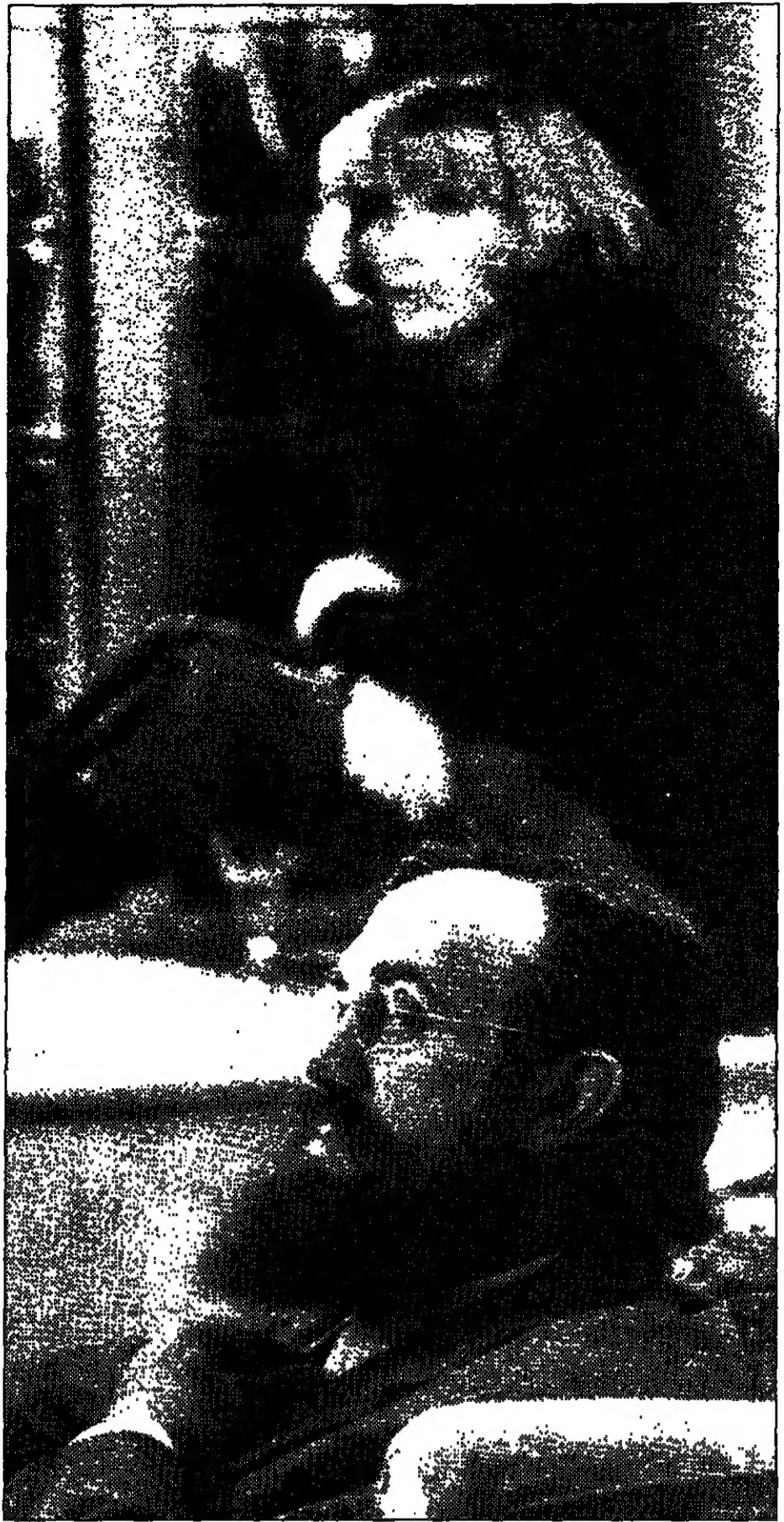
About 60,000 Ethiopian Jews have come to Israel in recent years. In 1984 and 1991 the government organised airlifts which brought in tens of thousands. More than 500 have been found to be carrying the HIV virus — 50 times the rate among other Israelis.

The blood donation affair is acutely embarrassing for many Israelis who are genuinely enthusiastic about the assimilation of such a large group of immigrants from a profoundly different culture. But for many Ethiopians, it is the culmination of years of systematic discrimination in housing, employment, and even in religion.

The cities' homecoming — of Ethiopians was stoutly resisted by some orthodox elements, who disputed the Jewishness of the newcomers. Unlike Western strands of Judaism, where religion is interpreted by rabbis or intermediaries in the Ethiopian Jewish tradition. These were specifically rejected by the orthodox establishment.



And the winners are... (clockwise from top left) Kristin Scott-Thomas, named best actress for Angels and Insects; Jonathan Pryce, who took the best actor prize, with co-star Emma Thompson in Carrington; veteran director Lewis Gilbert, who received a special award; and Alan Bennett, best screenwriter for The Madness of King George



# Boy, 5, found dead from cold

Vivak Chaudhary

A FIVE-YEAR-OLD boy who went missing after going out to build a snowman has been found dead. There were no suspicious circumstances, police said last night.

A post mortem showed that Damien Williams, who disappeared from his home in Middlesbrough, Cleveland, on Saturday, died from exposure. A pathologist found "features consistent with death from hypothermia".

Damien's fully clothed body was found in the yard of a derelict house 200 yards from where he lived after search by police officers. Superintendent Maurice Jones said it appeared that Damien had fallen, become unconscious and died from the cold. Fifty officers had been detailed to search disused buildings where Damien was known to play. The bodies of his parents were found behind which the body was found had not been entered.

"The rear yard gate was closed and fastened but not locked," Mr Jones said. "The walls would have been very difficult for a five-year-old boy to climb over."

One theory is that Damien got into the yard but was unable to get out. The walls are more than 6ft high.

Mr Jones said there were no signs of a struggle. It was hoped that clues could be found from prints in the snow.

Damien, who has three brothers and sisters, was reported missing by his mother Patricia on Saturday afternoon.

A neighbour, Andrew Thomas, whose children played with Damien, said the boy knew the streets around his home and often played in the back alleys. "He was quieter than his brothers and he'd rather play on his own. "He was always out on the streets or in the back alleys. I think he preferred it in the alleys and people were always shouting at him to get out of them."

# Troops row puts £4bn aircraft deal with Emirates in jeopardy

David Fairhall Defence Correspondent

A \$4 BILLION contract to supply the United Arab Emirates with long-range strike aircraft seems to be slipping from Britain's grasp because London will not agree to put British troops under local Arab command.

The requirement of the deal is to supply the Gulf Emirates with a force of 80 bombers. Britain is offering refurbished Tornados, similar to those flown by the RAF, with a view to replacing them later with the Eurofighter 2000, which is under development in partnership with Germany, Italy and Spain. But in spite of a flying visit to the Gulf by the Defence Secretary, Michael Portillo, when he proposed despatching a pair of Tornados for desert trials, the UAE apparently prefers French or American aircraft, with a Russian bomber also in contention. "The United States and

France are at the top of the list", an official UAE source said yesterday. "Russia has a small chance, and Britain is out of the race."

The sticking point as far as Whitehall is concerned seems to be the Gulf Emirates' insistence that British troops serving in the UAE, either to support the Tornado sale or deployed under the terms of a memorandum of understanding currently being negotiated, should come under local command. Mr Portillo is reported to have declared this unacceptable, although the Arabs claim the French have agreed to such demands.

If this proves to be the case, British Aerospace, the UK partner in the tri-national Tornado programme, will be deeply disappointed. The contract is not only immensely valuable in its own right, but would open the door to lucrative longer-term markets for the Eurofighter.

"Sharing and mixing is still a possibility," an official Arab source close to the negotiations said yesterday.

Michael Ellison Arts Correspondent

THE film version of Alan Bennett's play, The Madness of King George, last night carried off almost half the prizes at the only cinema awards exclusively for British films.

The only surprise was that Nigel Hawthorne failed to win the Evening Standard best actor award for his performance in the film, which would not have been made without him.

Bennett, who took the prize for best screenplay, said: "I couldn't imagine doing it with anyone else except him. He made it all

such a happy experience." The writer fought the movie's American producers to keep Hawthorne. The 66-year-old, who reached a wider audience through his role as Sir Humphrey in television's Yes Minister, won an Oscar nomination last year for his King George performance and on the basis of last night's rejection rivals Salman Rushdie for the awards season's loser of the year title.

Bennett said: "Without Nigel Hawthorne's transcendent performance, the king could have been just a glibbling bore and his fate a matter of indifference."

However, Hawthorne did not expect to win the Oscar and told his co-star, Helen Mirren, early in the shoot that he did not think he was doing terribly well. The Madness of King George, which started life as a National Theatre play, also with Hawthorne in the lead, took two more of the Standard's eight prizes, for best film and for cinematography (Andrew Dunn).

The best actor award went to Jonathan Pryce for his performance as Lytton Strachey in Carrington. Pryce won the same prize at last year's Cannes film festival for the movie about the Bloomsbury set and the relationship between Strachey and the artist, Dora Carrington, played by

Emma Thompson. Kristin Scott-Thomas was named best actress for the second year running, this time for Angels and Insects. She won last year for her part in Four Weddings and A Funeral.

In Angels and Insects, Scott-Thomas plays a dour character called Matty who becomes involved with an entomologist. Slinster goes on quickly develop.

Danny Boyle, the 29-year-old director who has been lumbered with the tag of Britain's Quentin Tarantino, was named most promising newcomer at the event, held at the Savoy. His £1 million debut, Shallow Grave, was the

most successful British production at the box-office over the past year and his next movie, Trainspotting, is one of the most talked-about of the year, a month before it is released.

Shallow Grave is a thriller about three Edinburgh flatmates who discover a case full of cash beside the corpse of a fellow lodger.

Boyle, who spent five years directing at the Royal Court before moving into television drama, said: "I suppose Shallow Grave is cruel, but then life can be cruel and cold. There are other sides of life, of course, but the film doesn't choose to look at them."

Peter Chelsom, director and co-writer of Funny Bones, collected the Peter Sellers Award for Comedy. It was presented to him by Leslie Caron, who starred in the film.

Funny Bones, which is set in 1950s Blackpool, has put the comedian, Lee Evans, on the verge of stardom in America. Chelsom previously directed Hear My Song.

The veteran director, Lewis Gilbert, whose films include Reach For the Sky, The Admirable Crichton, Carve Her Name With Pride and Educating Rita, received a special award in recognition of his contribution to British film-making.

# I'm staying, says Sarah

New court hearing today as child bride pledges that Turkey is now her home

Sally Weale

THE High Court in London is due to consider again today the fate of the 19-year-old girl who married a Turkish waiter in an illegal Muslim ceremony, after efforts over the weekend failed to persuade her to return to Britain.

Sarah Cook, from Braintree, Essex, is refusing to leave the Turkish town of Kahramanmaraş, where her 18-year-old "husband" is in jail facing a charge of statutory rape after their marriage three weeks ago.

Yesterday, in an apparent show of defiance, she kissed the Koran to illustrate her love for her adopted country. Sarah, who married with

her parents' consent, has had two weekend meetings with her "husband", unemployed waiter Musa Komeagac. Before the first, she made clear her desire to stay. "I love Musa, I love his family, I love this country. I don't want to go back," she said.

Her mother Jackie Cook, aged 37, and British diplomats have been trying to convince Sarah she should leave Turkey following a High Court hearing last Wednesday during which she was made a ward of court and ordered to return forthwith.

There were reports yesterday that Mrs Cook was making arrangements to fly back to Britain, but the Foreign Office said that as far as they were aware, Mrs Cook was still with her daughter and Sarah had shown no change of heart.

"It's for Sarah to change her mind or for her parents to persuade her," a Foreign Office spokesman said. Today Sir Stephen Brown, President of the Family Division, will consider the case

again and is expected to hear a report from Essex social services. Sarah's father, Adrian Cook, aged 42, may also be called to give evidence.

The High Court order is not legally enforceable in Turkey. Other options the judge might consider are a request to the Foreign Office to make representations to the Turkish government, or to the police, who could make an approach to police in Turkey.

In addition to Sarah's personal wishes, she is under some pressure to remain in Turkey to appear as a witness in Komeagac's case, which has been adjourned until February 15.

Such is the level of local feeling that when Sarah walks in the town she has made her home, she is mobbed by supporters who applaud and give her presents. Turkish supporters have laid a bouquet of carnations in front of the British consulate in Istanbul with the message "Tolerance for Love", urging that she should be allowed to stay in Turkey.

**"No, no,"** Mirror editor Piers Morgan cries, raising his hands defensively. "I'm certainly not plunging up-market. Nobody who's read the paper since I took over can really believe that." He is right. Since he arrived from the Sun in November, at the tender age of 30, there has been no hint of an upwards plunge. Rather, the evidence is that he is trying to out Sun the Sun, with louder headlines, rafts of royal "exclusives", acres of show-business coverage and front-page pictures calculated to shock.

**Michael Leapman G2 page 8**

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News in brief

Bishops defend lottery 'fun'

THREE of the four winners of this week's £40.22 million double-rollover National Lottery jackpot claimed their prizes yesterday.

Each winner will receive £10,055,900. The winning numbers were 16, 17, 38, 41, 42 and 43. The bonus number was 28.

The Bishop of London, Richard Chartres, yesterday described the lottery as "pantomime fun".

Shoppers' plastic spree

SHOPPERS are making greater use of debit cards, according to figures released yesterday by the Credit Card Research Group.

Total spending last year with credit cards topped £41 billion, 15 per cent more than in 1994, while debit cards totalled £28 billion, an increase of almost 25 per cent.

The figures showed that consumers still tended to pay for more expensive goods and services with credit cards.

'Bobby' church window to go

SHERBORNE Abbey has won a five-year legal battle to remove a decaying Victorian stained-glass window, designed by Pugin in 1861, and described by the vicar as "a collection of Mr Blobbies".

The vicar, Eric Woods, said he was delighted at the decision and the church would now get "a more worthy" window.

Canteen price inflation

THE number of workplace canteens has fallen drastically over the past decade and meal prices had gone up above the rate of inflation, a survey by the Labour Research Department disclosed yesterday.

The average price of a cup of tea had gone up by 21 per cent since 1991 — from 14p to 17p — while inflation increased by 14 per cent. A cup of coffee jumped 18 per cent, from 18p to 19p.

Call for 'city regions'

FIFTY-THREE new "city regions" should be the cornerstones of a restructured local government system for Britain, administered by a regional civil service, the City Region Campaign, a pressure group for reform, said yesterday.

Two paid-elected members from every parliamentary constituency would be members of the new authorities, which would determine policy on education, housing, social services, and other areas of local government, but leave smaller district councils to carry the rest out.

TV advert 'violent'

An advertisement in which a rugby player was shown having his head kicked off was upsetting to children, the Independent Television Commission rules today.

The advertisement showed a rugby player balancing a ball on his head, but having his head kicked off rather than the ball. Complainants found the treatment excessively violent and two reported distress among children.

Downwardly mobile in Britain

SOCIAL mobility measured by income may be greater in Britain than in the United States, university researchers claim today.

Although the US is traditionally seen as the land of opportunity, a contrast to class-bound Britain, there was preliminary evidence that the reverse may now be the case.

Ronay warns on tips

THE food critic Egon Ronay has warned consumers that the regulation of restaurant tips could be little more than a recipe for increased meal prices.

The Earl of Bradford, whose private member's bill has been endorsed by the Lords, says outlawing hidden extras will make restaurant bills clear for diners.

Smokecloak Limited

A DIARY item on January 17 referred to a malfunctioning "smoke cloak" alarm at the premises of a Slough computer company.

Harman row over double standards gives Major something to smile about

Patrick Wintour, Chief Political Correspondent

THE BATTLE lines of the election campaign began to emerge this weekend as John Major and Tony Blair set out their central programmes in the wake of the furious row over Harriet Harman's decision to send her son to a selective grammar school.

Writing in the Guardian today, Tony Blair claims: "There are two futures for Britain. The Tories offer a Britain split into two tiers, rich affluent communities turned into private fortresses against the world outside."

John Major promised in the Sunday Telegraph that the return of the feelgood factor promised better Tory times ahead. "I like elections. I am beginning to sniff the wind and feeling much happier about it."

His happiness, in part, stems from the breakthrough he achieved at Westminster over education but also from a greater coherence in Tory high command over how to attack Labour.

Central Office has been wrestling with three options. The first, supported by the Chancellor, Kenneth Clarke, is to claim Labour is nothing but a mass of soundbites and not equipped for the serious business of government.

The second is the so-called Coca-Cola strategy — to claim that New Labour is only a pale imitation of the Conservatives and the electorate would be wise to stick with the real thing.

In detail, Mr Major seems determined to highlight three threats from Labour — its economic policies, its plans for the constitution and Labour values, notably its persistent belief in equality, the state and a new ingredient, Labour leaders' personal double standards.

On the economy, the Conservatives are hoping this year's rise in living standards — the first since the end of the recession — will erase the memory of tax rises.

The Deputy Prime Minister Michael Heseltine conceded the Government's economic message had made little impact. "As yet their living standards have been subject to the ... pressure to win that battle against inflation."

The "enterprise centre of Europe", the phrase first uttered by Mr Major at the Tory party conference last year, will be the umbrella slogan to conjure up an image of a deregulated economy free from rule by Brussels.

Labour will argue modernising supply side reforms, such as higher school standards and a more effective welfare state, are vital.

Chris Smith, the shadow social security secretary, said he was interested in the principle of one-off revenue-raising schemes to kick start programmes designed to help

groups, such as single parents, back to work. He was also "passionately committed to the universal payment of child benefit", but raised the prospect of its taxation at the higher rate.

Trailing his pension reforms, he suggested establishing a funded savings scheme, as opposed to pay as you go, for second tier pensions.

On the constitution, Mr Major believes his instincts are closer to those of the voters than Mr Blair's. He is excited by the way the Scottish Secretary Michael Forsyth is



John Major: 'sniffing the wind'

Table titled 'The battleground' comparing Tory and Labour policies on Economy, Constitution, Values, and Education.



Tony Blair: 'one nation vision'

How school put Labour on to the learning fast track

Blunkett undeterred as governor pours cold water on scheme

John Carvel, Education Editor

THE seeds of Tony Blair's plan to reform comprehensive education by hot-housing the brightest children were planted last summer when his shadow cabinet colleague, David Blunkett, visited a Shropshire school



David Blunkett: selection 'excludes the vast majority'

Bouncing up to A-level PE

A DOUBLE somersault on the trampoline or running rings around the opposition's central defender could now earn students more than just a little praise from the games teacher, writes John Carvel.

The ups and downs of academic life will get a new dimension this year when the Associated Examining Board gives marks for sporting ability in its physical education A level.

In an attempt to add an extra bounce to the curriculum, the board, one of the biggest in the country, will give 7½ per cent of the total marks for trampolining skills in addition to the existing options of athletics, gymnastics and swimming.

Another 7½ per cent will be awarded according to students' abilities in team games. In this section football, rugby, cricket and netball are to be added to badminton, basketball, hockey and tennis which have been options since the course was first offered in 1986.

The football students will be scored in part according to their ability to dribble, shoot and head the ball. There will also be more theoretical work such as analysis of famous games and study of hooligan behaviour.

The new course rules have been approved by the School Curriculum and Assessment

where two clever 15-year-olds were being groomed for early success at A-level maths.

Mr Blunkett was intrigued by the potential of the experiment at The Marches mixed comprehensive in Oswestry, which has almost trebled the percentage of pupils getting good exam passes over the last seven years.

He was not deterred by the fact that one of the school's most influential governors, Sarah Biffen, an aspiring Tory candidate and wife of John Biffen, the former Conservative Leader of the Commons, who yesterday poured cold water on the Labour scheme.

The idea has developed into the proposal which Mr Blair will announce today for introduction of "accelerated learning" in secondary schools, allowing children to be grouped in sets for different subjects according to ability and interest, rather than by age.

The aim would be to stretch the most gifted pupils by placing them along

side children a year or more older according to their ability and interest in particular subjects.

Mr Blunkett said: "This is very radical. It is the antidote to selection. The problem with selection is that it excludes the vast majority and only manages to cope with classes of the same academic ability. Our Marches could translate approach will deal with dif-

ferent achievement levels at different ages by offering pupil-centred education which builds on pupils' strengths at all times in their educational development."

Mrs Biffen said she could not see how the informal arrangements for bringing on bright children, at The Marches could translate into a systematic policy for

accelerated learning at

side schools in the inner city.

"He has blown what we do out of all proportion. Two boys took their maths GCSE two years ahead of schedule in 1994. They would take maths A-level this summer when the other children in their age group did GCSE. But both boys had stayed

in the same class as their contemporaries. Their extra tuition had been given voluntarily. "I reckon the secret of the school is its location on a good site, the Shropshire veneration for education, and strong leadership from the head, supported by a dedicated staff. You can't transport that wholesale into the inner city ..."



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Advertisement form for Voluntary Euthanasia Society, including a questionnaire and contact information.

Advertisement for The Guardian newspaper, including contact information and a logo.

Vertical advertisement on the right edge of the page, partially cut off, mentioning 'Minis puts of old at £4' and 'Entertainments'.







# Swazi king calls out his warriors as unions refuse to end strike

Chris McGreal in Manzini, Swaziland

THE King of Swaziland has threatened to call out his warriors to put down a week-long general strike aimed at taking the monarchy out of politics and introducing elected government.

Accusing union leaders of plotting his overthrow, an angry King Mswati III ordered his subjects at the weekend to return to work today or face the wrath of his regiments, which he told to prepare for war.

Trades union leaders have repeatedly said that the protest — the longest strike in the tiny kingdom's history — is not aimed at the monarchy as an institution, which remains widely popular among the traditionalist Swazis. They insist that their sole aim is to drag the country into line with all others in the region by pressing for democracy.

Yesterday parliament rejected the unions' demand that it should lift the ban on political parties. Jani Sibhole, secretary-general of the Federation of Trade Unions, said the strike would continue until the government lifted the ban.

The response to the king's call will test his standing among his subjects who are, unusually, accusing him of abuse of power and an extravagant lifestyle.

Deeply attached though Swazis are to the monarchy, King Mswati, aged 37, provokes differing opinions.

His weekend appearance before his warriors, with red feathers in his hair, a spear in his hand and a leopard skin slung across his shoulder, was on open ground at the bleak royal forest. It is a far cry from the splendour of the palace he has fitted with a glass swimming pool and disco, and filled with luxury cars that have come to symbolise the public doubts about royal authority.

Swazis know where the money comes from. It is either the national treasury or the royal business interests which dominate the economy. Meanwhile most people are getting poorer and corruption is spreading.



King tested... Mswati III, wearing traditional headdress, speaks to his people during the 25th independence anniversary celebrations three years ago

The rot set in before King Mswati came to power as a teenager in 1988. But he continues to defend the political system introduced after his father, King Sobhuza II, imposed a state of emergency in 1973 when three parliament seats were won by opposition candidates.

The Westminster-style constitution introduced at independence from Britain five years earlier was scrapped, political parties were banned and MPs were effectively appointed by the monarchy.

Under pressure at home and from foreign donors, including Britain, King Mswati

finally allowed direct elections for 55 of the 95 seats in 1993. But political parties remain banned and candidates are not allowed to campaign. The king continues to appoint the cabinet and prime minister and to rule through royal councils.

Even minor concessions are too much for some in the royal fold who have everything to lose. The king will always be provided for but the latest prime minister, Prince Mthini Dlamini, is typical of members of a clan who fear that giving way to public pressure will cost them more than political power.

Members of the Dlamini family make large amounts of money from business interests and monopolies of trade in rural areas which they control virtually as feudal lords. Dozens of the king's half-brothers and sisters and a retinue of other relatives hold jobs in the civil service.

But the writing is on the wall. Even though political parties are banned, King Mswati has been forced to accept the existence of organisations such as the People's Democratic Movement. It cannot hold meetings and its president, Kisofo Shongwe, is harassed. But almost every

Swazi has heard of it and it is recognised as the de facto opposition.

Mr Shongwe said: "People want a constitutional monarch who is above politics. At the moment, executive power lies with people who operate in the shadows. We want a parliament that is supreme."

Even if the strike fails this time, King Mswati must have got the message that his subjects want the kind of change they have seen across their borders, where Nelson Mandela has made clear his disdain for Swaziland's stubborn royal rulers.



## News in brief

### French nuclear test 'may not be last'

FRANCE may carry out another nuclear test in the south Pacific, despite the expectation that Saturday's explosion — the sixth since September — would be the last. Defence officials said a decision whether to close down the Pantagaua and Moruroa atoll sites would be made only after the results of the six underground tests had been analysed.

Last month President Jacques Chirac said the original eight-test programme, which ended a three-year moratorium, would be curtailed and ended long before the May deadline.

News of the latest test inspired further protests from Pacific and European countries — including Japan, Australia, New Zealand and the Philippines. — Paul Webster, Paris. Leader comment, page 11

### 'Most Bosnian POWs go free'

THE vast majority of Bosnia's known prisoners of war were back in friendly hands last night, after the Serbs followed Muslims and Croats in freeing most of their captives.

The Red Cross said the Serbs released 74 POWs at Sarajevo airport, and the Muslim-led government freed 76 in northern Bosnia, bringing the total freed at the weekend to more than 500.

Red Cross officials said the Serbs were also due to free 70 POWs in northern Bosnia yesterday, but could not confirm this had happened. Serbs and Muslim-Croat camps accuse each other of keeping more prisoners in secret detention. Serbs and Croats have also acknowledged keeping prisoners for investigation as suspected war criminals, something Red Cross officials say the Dayton peace agreement allows. — Reuters, Sarajevo.

### Indo-Pakistan missile row

THE Pakistani foreign minister, Najmuddin Shaikh, said Pakistan would match India's missile capability if New Delhi continued to develop an advanced version of its Prithvi missile, the state-run media reported yesterday.

India tested a longer-range version of the surface-to-surface short-range missile on Saturday, bringing Pakistani protests. Western experts say the missiles could be fitted with nuclear warheads. Their deployment would heighten tension between India and Pakistan, which have fought three wars.

Meanwhile, United Nations military observers in Kashmir have begun investigating Friday's rocket attack on a Pakistani mosque that left 19 people dead. Pakistan has accused Indian troops of firing two Russian-made rockets into the remote Pakistani town of Forward Kabula. Indian army officials deny the charge. — AP, Islamabad and New Delhi.

### France blocks Burundi plans

DESPITE widespread fears that ethnic conflict and a looming civil war could spark genocide in Burundi, a detailed United States plan for international military intervention and a similar United Nations proposal have been blocked by France and other key countries.

As a result, there is no international plan for sending a peace-keeping force if Burundi repeats the events of neighbouring Rwanda two years ago.

US officials said efforts to develop a prevention plan for Burundi had been stymied by disagreements with some European allies about the seriousness of the situation and how to deal with it. Every country approached by Washington to contribute troops to an emergency intervention force — other than Canada and some African countries — responded with "varying degrees of hostility and scepticism", a senior official said.

A senior official of France, which intervened unilaterally in Rwanda, said: "Preventing the resurgence of centuries-old tribal conflicts is not in our power." — Washington Post, Washington.

### East Timor rebels killed

SIX rebels have been killed by Indonesian troops in two incidents in East Timor, the official Antara news agency reported yesterday.

Captain Djoko Purwadi, spokesman of the military command in East Timor, was quoted as saying that five of the rebels were shot dead on Friday in clashes with troops near Dilor in the Viqueque regency, south-east of the capital Dili. The sixth rebel was killed in a military operation on Thursday at Atsabe in the Ermera regency, south-west of Dili.

Capt Purwadi said 27 separatist rebels had been captured, or had surrendered, in the past 10 months. — AP, Jakarta.

### Black US leader asks for African soil



THE black Muslim firebrand Louis Farrakhan arrived in a hearse for his meeting (above) with President Nelson Mandela yesterday, nursing a romantic attachment to Africa despite flight delays and car breakdowns. Apparently inspired by such frustrations, during his visit from America, the leader of the Nation of Islam appealed for land in Africa on which Afro-Americans — including a million convicts — could build a "new reality".

"We have asked for territory to be set aside in Africa," he told a press conference. "We were taken from Africa and brought to America and were really never asked if we wanted to be citizens. So if there was no vote taken, we have a right to Africa. This was our motherland."

After the meeting, which passed amicably, Mr Mandela and Mr Farrakhan both said they opposed racism and sexism. — David Beresford, Johannesburg.

### Paedophile tourists targeted

IN AN attempt to deter foreign visitors to Sri Lanka who seek sun, sea and sex with children, the government has strengthened penalties for having sex with a minor to between five and 20 years in prison — the sentence given to pimps.

"It's become fairly high on the government's agenda," Peter Dixon, field director for Save the Children-UK, said. Sri Lanka has had a reputation as a paradise for paedophiles — a crime some countries tolerate partly for its hard currency earnings. An estimated 5,000 children, mostly boys, ply the island's beach resorts and tourist spots in search of clients.

In 1994-95, half a dozen foreigners — from Germany, Britain, France, Sweden and Switzerland — were arrested in connection with having sex with minors. None has been sentenced to prison, officials said this week. — Los Angeles Times, Colombo.

## Separatist to govern Quebec

Bouchard's role could be decisive, Claire Trevena in Toronto writes

THE most popular politician in Quebec, the separatist leader Lucien Bouchard, is to be sworn in as the province's premier today.

The ceremony comes in the wake of a poll which shows that 60 per cent of Quebecers believe the province will become an independent state within 10 years. The hope of secessionists is that with someone of Mr Bouchard's stature and popularity leading the provincial Parti Québécois, any future referendum on autonomy will be approved by Quebec voters.

There was no race to take over from Jacques Parizeau, the pro-secession premier who resigned after blaming the loss of October's independence referendum on "the ethnic vote".

Once it was known that Mr Bouchard, who led the separatists in the federal parliament, was interested in the job no one doubted he would get it.

But Mr Bouchard, whose smooth political skills and vibrant personality increased the separatist vote in last year's independence poll — bringing it within one percentage point of victory — is adopting a low key approach. Separation from the rest of Canada is still the goal, but echoing the respondents to the poll, an ultimate rather than immediate one.

First Mr Bouchard, who has never played provincial politics, will have to improve Quebec's economy. And like provincial leaders across the country his priority is reducing the province's \$5 billion (\$2.4 billion) deficit.

"We are crushed by an unacceptably heavy load of debt," he said last week in his nomination speech in the constituency which is sure to elect him to the provincial legislature.

"With our expenses we haven't yet been able to control the deficit, which means we've borrowed and mortgaged the future of our children to buy the groceries."

Opponents of Mr Bouchard have long envisaged the scenario: the separatist politician becomes provincial leader, makes swinging cuts

to Quebec's much cherished social programmes for the sake of the deficit, and swiftly sheds his hero's cloak.

That may be unlikely, because of Mr Bouchard's immense popularity, but there will inevitably be friction when the hero comes home with \$1 billion worth of cuts to make.

Mr Bouchard will be able to blame the cuts his government will enact on the mismanagement of the previous Liberal government in Quebec and on the present deficit-cutting Liberal federal government in Ottawa.

He is revered in the province. A boy from rural Chicoutimi, in northern Quebec, he has come back as the embodiment to save the province.

Mr Bouchard left the Conservative Party to form the independence seeking Bloc Québécois at the national level, and led it to a sweeping victory in the last national election.

Its success made him leader of the federal opposition.

In Ottawa he refused to live in Stornaway, the house reserved for the opposition leader, preferring to stay across the river in Hull, Quebec.

Now in Quebec City he is refusing to take over the mansion occupied by his predecessor, Mr Parizeau, preferring something a little less ostentatious.

Although he initially talked of the possibility of another independence referendum in 1997, that date is no longer being mentioned. He will need a new mandate to call another referendum.

The federalists in Ottawa are already gearing up for the next referendum. In the recriminations and fall out from the last vote, the Ottawa government was accused of being unprepared for the separatists' success.

A cabinet reshuffle last week brought in a number of new names from Quebec, including two who are not elected MPs, to work out a strategy for the province and the country.

## 'Harridan' Hillary gives Bill hard time

Jonathan Freedland in Washington

HILLARY CLINTON is a harridan with a dark side who humiliates her husband by scolding him in public. White House aides were reported to have told an American magazine yesterday.

"Mrs Clinton has been known to berate her husband in front of staff, in what some aides consider a shocking display of disrespect," US News and World Report claimed.

In a report based on interviews with former and current White House advisers, the magazine depicts Mrs Clinton as directing her fierce temper at Bill Clinton.

"How could you be so damn stupid?" she is said to have shouted at him last year, allegedly criticising him for becoming too mixed in legislative battles. Witnesses were paralysed with embarrassment, US News said.

The conservative news magazine reported that



Hillary Clinton: her poll ratings are at a record low

Mrs Clinton was "liable to shout when something goes wrong", and that her aides feared setting her off.

The damaging report is the latest blow to Mrs Clinton, who had a four-hour interrogation about the Whitewater affair by a federal grand jury last Friday. It was the first time a First Lady had been summoned to such a hearing.

A Newsweek poll released yesterday found that half America believes Mrs Clinton is not telling the truth about Whitewater. Her ratings are the lowest ever for a First Lady, and she is the only one to enjoy less public esteem than her husband.

The White House press secretary, Mike McCurry, acted quickly to dismiss the US News portrait of Mrs Clinton, which he said was "wildly inaccurate".

He said: "A lot of this smacks of second and third-hand accounts of people who probably resented her role at the White House."

But the magazine portrait does match other accounts. In 1993 secret service bodyguards reportedly saw Mrs Clinton throwing an object — either a lamp or a Bible — at her husband during a row in their bedroom.

Mrs Clinton has denied the episode, and rejected claims that she sought to prevent other leaks by demanding new guards for the White House quarters.

Primary Colors, an anonymous new novel based on

## Red Cross plans Kabul airlift as 1m under siege face starvation

Gerald Bourke in Islamabad

WITH its food stocks in the besieged Afghan capital due to run out tomorrow, the International Red Cross plans to start an emergency airlift into Kabul with 48 flights carrying 20 tonnes of food each.

The airlift, to begin later this week, is to help relieve the more than one million people who face starvation unless forces opposed to President Burhanuddin Rabbani lift their two-week blockade of the capital, aid officials said yesterday.

"We estimate that 95 per cent of Kabul's 1.2 million inhabitants are facing severe food and heating-fuel shortages," Francois Zen Ruffinen, a senior official of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), said.

The ICRC is particularly concerned about the 100,000 Kabulites dependent on its feeding programmes. Many have been widowed, orphaned or disabled by the war.

The price of scarce staple foods has doubled since the last open road into the city — from Pakistan in the east — was sealed by anti-government mujahedins when their leader centralised the collection of their hefty informal taxes.

Supply routes from the north, south and west were closed months ago by other armies struggling to oust Dr Rabbani's regime.

The onset of the coldest winter in years, with temperatures plummeting to minus 23C, has made the approaching humanitarian catastrophe all the more acute, aid workers said.

Intense rocket and artillery exchanges between rival Islamic factions since the overthrow of the communist administration in 1993 have left Kabul without electricity and many homes badly damaged.

Last week the government closed the city's meat markets, accusing supply-strapped butchers of profiteering. Most bakeries have closed for lack of flour.

The United Nations, which says an airlift is beyond its means, claims 60 per cent of Kabul's population as "most vulnerable" — up from 20 per cent a fortnight ago.

"It's not possible to calculate how many have died so far," Martin Barber, head of the UN's relief operation for Afghanistan, said yesterday.

"But everyone in Kabul knows someone who has died from cold and malnutrition."

He added: "It's one of those silent tragedies. You're not going to see appallingly malnourished people on the streets of Kabul, they're suffering in their homes."

Four months after the launch of the latest 12-month UN appeal, donors have committed a mere 18 per cent of the \$124 million (\$28 million) minimum required.

Some donor countries say the Kabul government could do more to ease the city's suffering. They claim Dr Rabbani's garrison, estimated at up to 36,000-strong, remains well-fed, and is buying large quantities of weapons before

**The Birmingham Arouser and Nancy Impotency cases take the law into quite new erogenous zones. What is being touched on here is whether promise and expectation — two central elements in the selling and enactment of sex in the modern world — are susceptible to definition and enforcement.**

**Mark Lawson page 9**

CIA

THE SECRET

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French pro-life

R



07/21/2015

US intelligence was involved in a fierce backstage struggle with its 'reluctant' allies at the height of the conflict, writes Ed Vulliamy

# CIA 'bugged' UN HQ in Bosnia war



**T**HE American secret services — notably the CIA — embark on their first publicly-sanctioned mission in Bosnia this week, to shield Nato soldiers from hostile paramilitaries and help war crimes investigators.

US intelligence became enmeshed in the war as the Americans became increasingly exasperated by what they saw as the thwarting of a robust stand against the Serbs, stemming from the reluctance of the European Union, Britain in particular.

American frustration was most acute during 1994, a period of cautious authority in the field exercised by General Sir Michael Rose, a former SAS commander.

The tension arose most acutely from the American belief that Nato air strikes should be used to bomb the Serbs to the negotiating table.

The United Nations Protection Force in Bosnia — and especially Gen Rose — was sceptical and feared that air strikes would endanger its soldiers on the ground.

Now American intelligence sources have revealed what they found when they eavesdropped on communications between Gen Rose's headquarters in Sarajevo and SAS scouts deep inside Serb-held territory.

Gen Rose told the Bosnian Serb leader, Radovan Karadzic, that the UN command had stopped Serbian positions overlooking Bihac would be attacked.

Gen Rose rushed to Pale, the Bosnian Serb 'capital' near Sarajevo, the next day and then on to the Croatian capital, Zagreb.

There was an American air force observer at UN headquarters in Zagreb and he was worried about reports from US intelligence in the field that the Bosnian Serbs had acquired a fresh arsenal of Russian SAM anti-aircraft missiles.

Rose's command to the SAS: hold off, do not identify the targets, thus neutralising the air strike.

The Nato pilots were shown nothing; their planes came and went, impotent. It was a measured instruction, highly secret, defiant of Nato. But it was not a private one.

Gen Rose could not be reached for comment on the eavesdropping allegations yesterday at his headquarters at Trenchard Lines, Wiltshire.

The general did order Nato air and ground strikes against the Serbs around Gorazde in 1994, and was then eager to use close air support to defend his SAS men trapped in the enclave.

It was fundamental to Gen Rose's debate with the Americans that the UN "cannot be used to alter the military balance in a civil war... a peace-keeping force cannot allow itself to be hijacked by political pressures and become involved in the conflict".

The handling of the Bihac crisis was a dramatic illustration of how the Western "allies" were at each other's throats over Bosnia, with the Americans determined to override what they saw as the sabotaging of Nato efforts to bomb the Serbs into a peace deal.

Bihac had been under siege for 30 months. A French Duprofor battalion had pulled out and been replaced by one from Bangladesh, by then marooned and virtually unarmed.

Halfway through November the Serbian assault came. A relentless bombardment included the first reported use of napalm in the war.

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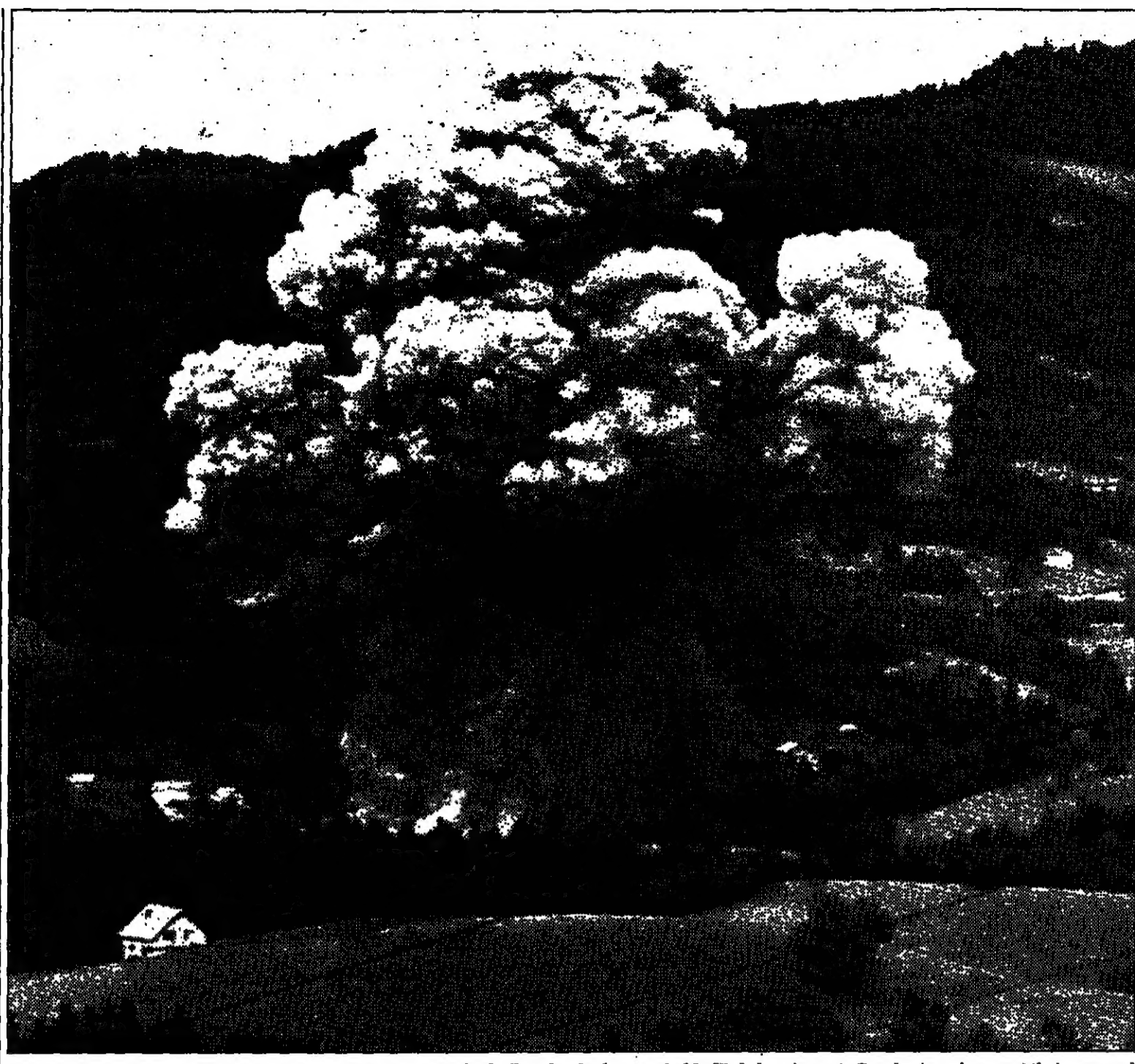
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On target... Smoke mushrooms from an ammunition dump in the Bosnian Serb stronghold of Pale last August after the Americans got their way and Nato jets raided targets across Bosnia. Below, bombs are loaded on to US planes at Aviano, Italy, for the biggest assault in alliance history

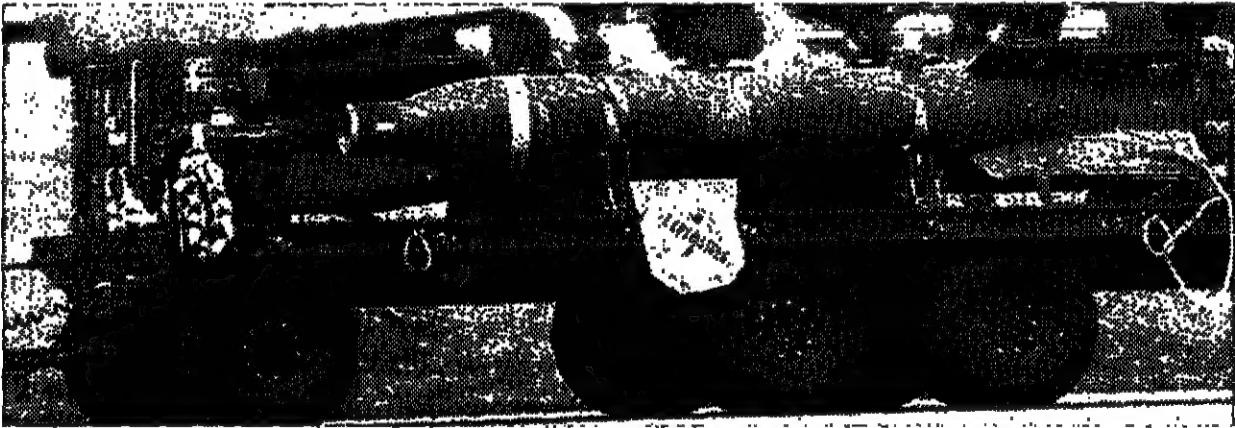


US ambassador to Sarajevo, Victor Jakovc, visited Gen Rose calling air strikes, and Mr Amman duly conveyed it to him.

Newspapers on Saturday November 26 were bewildered after "confused reports of Nato air activity over Bihac last night".

The call prompted a diplomatic flurry. The state department contacted the US ambassador to the United Nations, Madeleine Albright.

But the Americans were stepping up the pressure. On that Friday, November 25, the



there was only one way to stop the bombing they would have to tell the SAS scouts not to identify the target for Nato to bomb.

The American intelligence sources now allege that this is what the Unprofor command did. It was a careful decision and a controversial one.

This was the showdown between Gen Rose's philosophy of cautious mediation and the Americans' interventionism.

For Gen Rose's command, to choose between maintaining the Atlantic alliance and continuing his support for the Bosnian government.

In public Mr Clinton chose the Nato alliance. Within two days the administration had offered concessions to the Serbs and 10 days later it agreed to recognise the "Republika Srpska".

But while Washington overtly courted the Europeans, the US intelligence operation was now entrenched, pushing new strategies for Bosnia.

## News in brief

### Russian PM's US mission

The prime minister of Russia, Viktor Chernomyrdin, left Moscow yesterday for the United States with the job of trying to reassure politicians and bankers that Russia is committed to free-market reforms.

### Falcon crackdown

Forest rangers in north-western China have detained 925 poachers and rescued 400 falcons, but gangs smuggling the rare birds have grown.

### School suicides

Two more Japanese schoolchildren tormented by classmates took their own lives in the past week, adding to the criticism of Japanese schools which have been plagued by suicides.

### Calm in Niger

The streets of Niamey, capital of Niger, were calm yesterday after the military deposed the president. In the second military coup in the region in 10 days, soldiers seized control of the government and ended the country's brief attempt at democracy.

### Blaze deaths

A hospital fire killed 13 people and injured 33 in Mecca, Islam's holiest city, the Saudi press agency reported.

### Pol 'inevitable'

Gianfranco Fini, Italy's most popular and powerful politician, said yesterday that there was now no alternative to an early general election.

### 'Murder' payout

Israel has agreed to pay \$268,000 in restitution to the family of a Moroccan waiter who was allegedly killed by

## French riot police crush clash of pro-lifers and anti-abortionists

Paul Webster in Paris

**R**IOT police intervened to stop fighting between supporters and opponents of abortion in Versailles during weekend protests taking place against the background of a political and judicial split over the application of the 1975 law legalising abortion.

The anti-abortionists had gathered in Versailles as leaders of SOS-Petites appeared in a local court against suspended jail sentences imposed for a raid on a clinic last year, one of dozens of commando raids in the last five years.

The reluctance of some courts to enforce stiff sentences on the movement's activists is a conformity with a 1993 Socialist law against hindering abortionists has added to the suspicion that the Gaullist-led govern-



Noelia Garcia: her image appeals to young recruits

ment is wary of upsetting a sector of its potential electorate, and is siding with the anti-abortion lobby.

At 21 has become the most easily recognised spokeswoman of the 15 associations involved in the commando raids, two of which have strong National Front representation.

She has exploited her glamorous image as a model, television actress and student at the Sorbonne to attract young recruits to the anti-abortion movement.

In Versailles she recalled that she had been given suspended jail sentences for four separate protests in hospitals which carry out about 180,000 abortions annually.

Ms Garcia was also fined \$1,250. The case underlined Ms Garcia's role as the emotional force of a movement which has successfully lobbied for the closure of family planning clinics in northern France.

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## No going back for Tony Blair

Labour stakes it all out again

THERE are weeks when the political cards are shuffled and re-dealt and weeks, the great majority of them, when things go on very much as before. Government politicians are behaving as though last week was one of the former and opposition politicians as though they fear that it might have been. However it turns out, there is no doubt they will all be unusually attentive to the crucial next round of opinion polls to see how the Harman affair has changed the balance of party political advantage in the run-up to the general election. Undoubtedly there was fresh energy in the Conservative effort this weekend and there is new apprehension in Labour's, but the net result of last week may not be straightforward. Labour's disadvantage — if such it turns out to be — is not necessarily the Tories' gain.

The Conservative strategy is to pretend that everything is suddenly running strongly in their favour. The behaviour of Tory MPs at Westminster last week, the frenetic weekend energy of the party chairman, and the tone of John Major's Sunday Telegraph interview are all proof of that. But this wave of pill-popping self-confidence is unconvincing (as the private admissions of any Conservative MP will confirm). It also verges at times on the insulting. People who have become disillusioned with the Conservatives are not going to forget their disillusionment just because Labour has been embarrassed over education. Important though that is, Tony Blair's remarks about standards in schools last week — that these children have been born and educated under the Conservatives and that the failure is not theirs but the Conservatives' — will ring absolutely true for very many people. The Conservatives have little to cheer about on education, and the fact that their weekend attacks wandered off into many other policy fields suggests that they are aware of it.

Labour, by contrast, have decided to behave as though nothing very much has changed. They insist that the political battleground is largely unaltered, that education is still their issue and that Mr Blair can set out the new visions — see the neighbouring page — in Southwark Cathedral as in Singapore, as though the Harman affair had not intervened. This innocence is almost as hard to credit as the gullible self-deceptions of the Conservatives. What happened last week is that under pressure Labour failed to show that it had a consistent alternative on education which its supporters could believe in and that the public could understand. This threatens the party's wider credibility both because education is important in itself and because of the centrality of which the Blair leadership attaches to education within its wider scheme of things. What appeared to be settled turned out to be work still in progress. Mr Blair's new formulations about individual success and equal opportunity today are much tighter.

The broader context of this argument is set out today on our Arena page by the political commentator John Gray. In his new Demos pamphlet, Dr Gray compellingly explains why the alternative to the failures of Thatcherism is neither a purer form of Thatcherism itself nor a return to traditional social democracy. Not everyone will agree with the communitarian liberal alternative which Dr Gray propounds, nor with all the detailed policy prescriptions which he advocates, but he is right to say that the future belongs to a new way which learns from the failures and successes of both the systems which have preceded it. That is what Mr Blair is stakeholder since the new year. The effort continues tonight and beyond. The Labour leader is right to stick to his course, even if last week's experiences show it is still unfinished business.

## Adieu to Muroroa

Now it's time to ban nuclear testing

HAVING exploded what may possibly be the last in its current series of nuclear tests at Muroroa at the weekend, France should now stick to its word and turn its attention to banning them. Outlawing nuclear tests has been on the international agenda for four decades but little progress has been made since Kennedy and Khrushchev failed to do a deal back in 1963. Yet, if the political will is there, the 1996 session of the Conference on Disarmament, now getting down to brass tacks in Geneva, should still be the forum for finally achieving a comprehensive test ban treaty. The signs are certainly more promising than ever before: France and the US, followed by Britain, have declared themselves ready to accept what the scientists call "zero-yield" testing, foregoing the Nevada desert and Pacific atolls for the computer simulation techniques they need to maintain their arsenals. Russia, observing a testing moratorium, is expected to follow suit.

China, with less advanced weapons than other members of the nuclear club, is the next problem. Its continued insistence on "peaceful nuclear explosions," ostensibly for civil engineering purposes, may be tactical. But Beijing's current truculence is worrying and no one will relax in Geneva until it too has come on board. The timing of one of its two tests last year — just days after pledging "utmost restraint" during negotiations on the indefinite extension of the nuclear non-proliferation treaty — was deliberate nose-thumbing.

Outside the club some countries are bristling at the anxiety of the nuclear powers to pursue the test ban without making concessions on disarmament. India has linked progress on a global treaty to negotiations this year on eliminating all nuclear weapons within a specified time. Yet as a "threshold state" (along with Pakistan and Israel) that wishes to maintain its capability to manufacture weapons, its position may be more about bargains than principles.

The US and Britain insist there should be no linkage between the treaty and future moves on nuclear disarmament. "Holding one important goal hostage for another is a sure way to fail at both," conference delegates were told last week by John Holm, director of the US Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. Incremental progress in such a high-risk area is a sensible way to proceed. But since no one pretends that a test ban treaty will in itself eliminate nuclear weapons, some signal should be given of readiness to move further. Australia is trying to bridge gaps in Geneva while its own Canberra commission of international nuclear experts is sending out the simple but compelling message: disarmament cannot wait for ever.

How to tell them apart...

Fig 1: Typical double-dealing 'DO AS I SAY, NOT AS I DO' sanctimonious hypocrites



Fig 2: Typical straight-talking 'DO AS I DO, BECAUSE YOU CAN'T BELIEVE A WORD I SAY' non-sanctimonious hypocrite



### Letters to the Editor

#### The agony and the Ecstasy

I AM a dentist and I do know about teeth. When I read an article like Jackie Cowling's (All mouth and no crown, January 28) I wonder why I take newspapers seriously. What are the charges outside the NHS? Toothache? You need a root filling £50 to £150 probably. If you have it removed, you could get away with £20. A crown? About £200. A filling? £30 to £50. Dental restorations are done in small, wet spaces on restless and anxious subjects and are subject to enormous forces of destruction, powerful biting forces, drying and wetting, temperatures ranging from ice cream to hot coffee and corrosive liquids. Good dental treatment will usually give value for money. When did you last have the dishwasher serviced or a small repair on the car? What do you spend in a year on cosmetics, patent medicines and catfood? Graham Balfry, 12 Redcliffe Parade West, Bristol BS1 6SP.

DR ID. Aliz Sharkey (Sorted or Distorted, January 26) meant to reassure parents that drug-taking at it's craves up to be? After trying to put our minds at rest about Ecstasy, she suggests that what youngsters are taking is probably not real Ecstasy at all. But most users have no way of knowing what is in the tablets they pay £10 or £15 for. Are we supposed to be comforted by this? R H Smith, 42 Croft Avenue, Bromborough, Wirral, Merseyside L62 2BR.

WHILE Will Hutton's characterisation of the US as a deeply divided society is valid (Shock that threaten downtown America, January 24), he is wrong to assert this is a new phenomenon. The US always was a deeply divided and unequal society. "Conditions of equality," ascribed by de Tocqueville in 1830, did not hold then and do not now. Alok Ray, 29 North Street, Bristol BS16 5SW.

JOHN Major wants an election for a Northern Ireland assembly. How about one for Greater London with its larger population? We could call it the Greater London Council. Norman T Shephard, 4 Loggatts, 65/67 Alleya Park, London, SE21 8AS.

#### Howard's way with Dr Johnson

I WAS appalled to read your article (Jail shock for Howard, January 27) documenting the proposed closure of Parkhurst's special unit. If Dr Bob Johnson has achieved a 90 per cent reduction in violent assaults whilst reducing on 84 per cent less medication, etc, it seems unbelievable that he should be rewarded by a short-term government policy based on saving money. With prison populations increasing by 30-100 offenders per week, and 3,000-4,000 prison officer jobs and probation staff to be phased out, no wonder men of integrity are starting to wonder what it's all about.

On behalf of my colleagues made redundant due to the closure of six hall and probation hostels, may I urge Home Office ministers to look to any conscience they might have in order to avert a national disaster in the making. Richard Devonald, Watford, Herts WD11 3QF.

MICHAEL Howard has made prison a still more futile method of dealing with crime by cutting opportunities for prisoners to gain education, by dismantling Dr Johnson's therapeutic programme in Parkhurst, by urging that sentences be increased in length, and now by threatening to close prison farms and gardens — so that inmates can no longer work there.

His harshness to prisoners, whether mentally ill or not, displays his total ignorance of criminological research, as well as his inhumanity. This sycophantic, smug, heartless man is a disgrace to his office. Anthony Storr, 45 Chalfont Road, Oxford OX2 6TJ.

DR BOB Johnson's statement that "treating human beings with humanity rather than brutality makes them, and us, safer, more secure and, above all, more civilised" is a wonderful metaphor for the manner in which the less advantaged people of this country have been treated in recent years and for the consequent, destructive effects upon our society, which we see all around us.

It is overwhelmingly sad that our current leaders are deprived of the emotional competence and sensitivity to even begin to perceive the damage and havoc that their policies have wreaked, in particular upon the moral and emotional infrastructure of this society. Dr Steve Williams, Gushborough, Cleveland TS14 3EP.

WHEN I saw the Guardian headline, Jail shock for Howard, I thought for one lovely, fleeting moment they were going to put him in one. Sean Henderson, Bromborough, Wirral, Merseyside L62 7AF.

#### Off the map

PETER Preston's Commentary on Our Friends in The North (January 19) rightly claims that it is all too close for period comfort. Yet it is obviously far enough away for lots of inaccuracies to have crept in. Green and white — not red — were the Tyndale Labour colours in the 1980s, a tradition which has not entirely disappeared today.

The insult of a shingle beach to represent Whitby Bay was hard to bear as were the infuriating number of present-day expressions and expletives — put into the mouths of the characters. And why so many clichéd views of the Tyne bridge?



There are other northern landmarks. Underlying the series and so much of what has been written about it is, however, a more fundamental inaccuracy — the belief that T Dan Smith, whatever his faults, "put Newcastle on the map." In fact, the redevelopment of the city centre wiped off the map many of its historic buildings. The aim was not to make Newcastle into a fine European city but to make it "the Brasilia of the North" — enough said. Joyce Quin, MP, House of Commons, London SW1A 0AA.

#### Class system

IT AMAZES me how otherwise thoughtful commentators in the columns of the Guardian and in private conversations, who would claim to identify with progressive ideas, continue to refer to young people as "academic" — or not. The alternative is never specified.

Perhaps because I did not grow up in this country and have not suffered the same crippling class assumptions behind the use of this kind of terminology, I find it easier to see it for the anachronism that it is. My experience of teaching highly-motivated mature students, many of whom were written off as not being "academic" and who now produce first-class work, and my observation of young people from a variety of backgrounds, confirms that there is no such thing as being inherently "academic" or not. Intellectual and analytical skills are there to be developed, in different ways and at different times, in all young people and people not so young. They must be developed, and the vast majority of people given the training and skills which can equip them, and the country at large, for the economic and social demands of the late 20th century.

That is the real tragedy of the figures we have seen seeing of British under-achievement. We will never come to grips with the low expectations that too many people have of the capacities of the British people unless we stop talking about people being "academic" or not. Anne Showers-Sassoon, Professor of Politics, Kingston University.

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presumably, they were deceived by a recent opinion poll into believing the comprehensive schools are unpopular. In fact in that survey, two of the three age groups which are likely to contain the parents of primary school pupils, voted substantially in favour of non-selective secondary education. Nobody should be surprised by that. When the choice is presented to them, parents follow the path trodden from

the paper which, in its lead, has been the most informed advocate of elitist education. The Labour Party, the editorial almost thundered, should "allow parents in every education authority to decide periodically for themselves whether they want comprehensive schools or selection." That demand is welcome to the advocates of comprehensive education because, were it to be conceded, there would not be a state grammar school left in all of Britain. It was, however, an error for the Times to espouse that policy — unless its leader-writers have suddenly been converted to comprehensive education. Presumably, they were deceived by a recent opinion poll into believing the comprehensive schools are unpopular. In fact in that survey, two of the three age groups which are likely to contain the parents of primary school pupils, voted substantially in favour of non-selective secondary education. Nobody should be surprised by that. When the choice is presented to them, parents follow the path trodden from

oners with whom he worked were learning to live without recourse to violence but this appears to be of no importance to those who uphold the dogma that only an austere and dehumanising regime will suffice. Bob Johnson has our full support and we feel a sense of outrage that someone with his depth of understanding and experience should not be able to continue with the full backing of the Home Office. Judith Ryde, Chair, Psychotherapists and Counsellors for Social Responsibility, 285 Bloomfield Road, Bath BA2 2NU.

WHEN I saw the Guardian headline, Jail shock for Howard, I thought for one lovely, fleeting moment they were going to put him in one. Sean Henderson, Bromborough, Wirral, Merseyside L62 7AF.

Letters to the Editor may be faxed on 0171 837 4530 or sent by post to 119 Farringdon Road, London EC1R 3ER, and by e-mail to letters@guardian.co.uk. We may edit letters for clarity and concision.

#### A Country Diary

NORFOLK: Although by rights it shouldn't be here, it has been resident at the Titchwell RSPB reserve for over two years. Black-winged stilt is a bird with an almost worldwide range, breeding only in the northern hemisphere from Mexico to Mongolia, and around the southern tropics from Peru to Papua New Guinea. One of the few places you wouldn't expect to find it is in northern Europe, and the nearest it usually comes to the UK is the odd outpost in France. No matter where you actually see stilts, however, they always look fantastically ridiculous. Their legs are proportionally the longest of any bird in western Eurasia, longer even than a flamingo's. Looking as fragile as reed stems, these limbs leave the bird almost stranded in mid-air, and it often has to bend them to feed. Fortunately, it has a comparably long, needle-fine bill to ease the problem. Like nothing else in Norfolk, this creature, more typical of hazy Mediterranean saltpan

IT IS not just the protesters who are getting "thwacked" at Newbury (Letters, January 27). It seems that the Highways Agency, the contractors and Reliance care little for the safety of their own unhappy security guards.

I was at Newbury between January 18 and 19. Because the guards were far too close to the trees, and were always facing away from the falling, I saw two incidents when they were thwacked, or nearly thwacked, by falling trees.

Forestry guidelines suggest a minimum distance of twice the height of the trees to be felled between the feller and other people, yet, in one incident, the top of a birch fell across the shoulders of a guard. In another incident, a 30cm diameter tree was felled down a very steep embankment, falling among, and scattering, four security guards.

I manage a woodland under a Forestry Authority grant. If I were to put my own employees in these dangerous situations, I could be liable to prosecution. Theo Hopkins, The Cliff and Lower, Chample's Woodlands, Oakford, Tiverton, Devon EX16 9EN.

## Top people come to the aid of the party

#### Endpiece

#### Roy Hattersley

ONE of the strange features of the current education debate is which it is being conducted. It is argued that secondary selection is essential to parental choice, when it ought to be obvious that if schools are allowed to select pupils, parents are not able to choose schools. We are told that standards are more important than structures, although any one who has thought about the subject for 10 seconds must understand that the way in which the system is organised has a direct effect on the results which it produces. Vows of enthusiasm for the comprehensive principle are accompanied by pledges of support for grammar schools, as if selection and non-selection can co-exist. Bad teachers are discussed as if they are a recent problem, although they have always been with us. Only one thing has changed.

Thirty years ago, bad teachers only impeded the prospects of the malleable poor. Grammar schools, which only admit children with superior intelligence and supportive parents, are exalted for producing better examination results than those achieved by old secondary modern schools, with "comprehensive" painted on their noticeboards — even though they teach the boys and girls who have been rejected by the grammar schools.

The high watermark of absurdity was reached last week during the conversations which preceded the Tuesday meeting of the Parliamentary Labour Party. One Labour MP suggested that "children colleges" had no right to express opinions on the way in which our schools are organised. No doubt, according to her, views on top tax rates should be limited to those Members whose daddies were millionaires. The argument sinks to the nadir of rational debate when sentimentality combines with self-interest and stupidity. Last week, the pages of the Independent dripped with tear-

stained stories about the brutalisation of "gentle" children in London comprehensive schools, and tales of managing editors who had achieved their emblems despite, rather than because of, the non-selective schools which they attended.

The resentful journalist certainly proved that there are some bad comprehensive schools. The one which he attended failed to teach him the folly of generalising from the particular, the importance of pursuing the greatest good of the greatest number and the danger of starting arguments which it is impossible to finish. Old-fashioned selection, he wrote, should be replaced by divisions between the "academically able, the technically able and the able at all kinds of other things". Pity he could not think, or dare not admit, what the "others things" are. When I took "the scholarship", the third category was made up of children who were said to enjoy woodwork and domestic science. The most welcome of all the unforced errors appeared in Thursday morning's Times —

Tory Solihull to Labour Barnes. They do not gamble on their children taking an escape route from second-class education. They simply reject a system that stigmatises most pupils as academic failures and sends them off to schools designed to teach "other things" than formal subjects. Faced mums and dads are notoriously unrealistic about their offspring's talents. But 51 per cent are not going to take the risk of not being part of the 10 or 15 per cent whose children "pass the scholarship". Parents of primary school pupils have an absolute right to choose the type of schools in which their children will be educated. And the ballot must be conducted amongst them. To ask the parents of grammar school pupils what sort of education system they would like to see would be like asking water board chairmen whether or not there should be a windfall tax on the excess profits of privatised utilities. There is no theory of liberal democracy which allows a favoured minority to insist that society pays for their privileges at the expense of a disadvantaged majority. To allow

grammar school parents to insist of selective education for their children is to give them the power to veto comprehensive education for other people's sons and daughters. We should not be surprised that an editorial written by the chairperson of the Brain Trust accepts those basic truths — only that understanding has come so slowly. Anyway, however tortuous the route by which the sinner has come to repentance, those who believe in non-selective education should rejoice. We are extremists no longer. We can continue our campaign for parental ballots reinforced by the knowledge the Times is on our side. Last week, Labour's public relations advisers panicked not about the party's apparent inconsistency but about creating an impression of antagonism to success. Let us hope that the Times has calmed their nerves, forward to comprehensive education with the top people's paper! At last, we have a soundbite that can unite old and New Labour.



Mumbai Diary

Suzanne Goldenberg

NOBODY thought it would stick, not the wraiths in scraps of clothing, not the panchy tycoons who somehow coexist here in the city of infinite possibilities...

Madame Fifi takes the stand

Commentary Mark Lawson

IN THE musical Guys And Dolls, Nathan Detroit advises Miss Adelaide that, if she doesn't believe his protestations of love, she should "find a lawyer and sue me"...

intelligence and seeks the return of the £25 fee plus damages. The case continues and is, as lawyers say, expected to be a long one.

merous attempted suits for contraceptive failure - which is a pity as a full-scale court case would have been an entertaining spectacle.

What we can already hear the magistrate's grave summing-up: "The point at issue in this dispute is whether the phrase 'Hot Fun With Madame Fifi' constitutes a legally-binding contract or a mere commercial inducement."

The Birmingham Arouser and the Nancy Impotency cases result from a newly-sanctioned frankness

with Double Nut Pecan by a hot-lipped partner? Or the courtroom battle - featuring detailed forensic evidence involving electrodes and photocopies of Playmates of the Month - in which a subscriber to a pornographic magazine demands a refunded subscription on the basis that it did nothing for him?

fascinating to imagine closing arguments for the defence in the latter case: "You must ask yourself, members of the jury, whether you would wish to sleep with the plaintiff if your answer is that you would not - not even in a darkened room, not even having partaken copiously of alcohol and what we have heard described to the court as 'E's' - then you must find for the defendants."

The present tendency for the former lovers of celebrities to publish lurid accounts of their sexual prowess - whether "Top Pop Star Was My Number One" or "Big Star Not So Big In Bed" - must raise the possibility of pre-coital secrecy agreements, a variation on the prenuptial financial contracts now commonplace among the rich in the absence of the perhaps powerful and sexually voracious men will apply to courts for gagging orders, preventing circulation of details of their performance.

Anyway, the future - with indignant consumers clutching their punctured indistinct dots in the witness box and expert nutritionists testifying that the condom advertised as raspberry-flavoured in fact included vanilla essence - should at least be amusing.

Warning - muggers at work



Paul Foot

WE ALWAYS thought that people who complain about street violence in London are exaggerating, but now I'm not so sure. It clearly isn't safe to walk at night where I live - down Clapton way for example. It seems that if you drop into a cafe there for a drink with friends, there's every chance that as you come out you will be set upon by bully-boys who will hold your neck and kick you from the public house and dead.

What is the answer? Alert as ever, the Prime Minister has put 5,000 more policemen on the beat. I'm not sure that this will help, but certainly the expression "on the beat" takes on an entirely new significance.

SHIJI LAPITE, the man who was unlawfully killed at Clapton by PCs Paul Wright and Andrew McCullum, had come to this country seeking political asylum from the murderous dictatorship in Nigeria. I do not use words like "murderous dictatorship" lightly.

he went back to Nigeria for more than the period he was legally allowed. He was taken by eight immigration officials from Campfield detention centre near Oxford to Getwick airport. His wife Joyce was not allowed to see him or give him the clothes and money she had packed.

Guardian readers will recall that on December 2 the Nigerian High Commission in London declared in a press statement that Abdul "is not being held by any branch of the Nigerian law enforcement or security services".

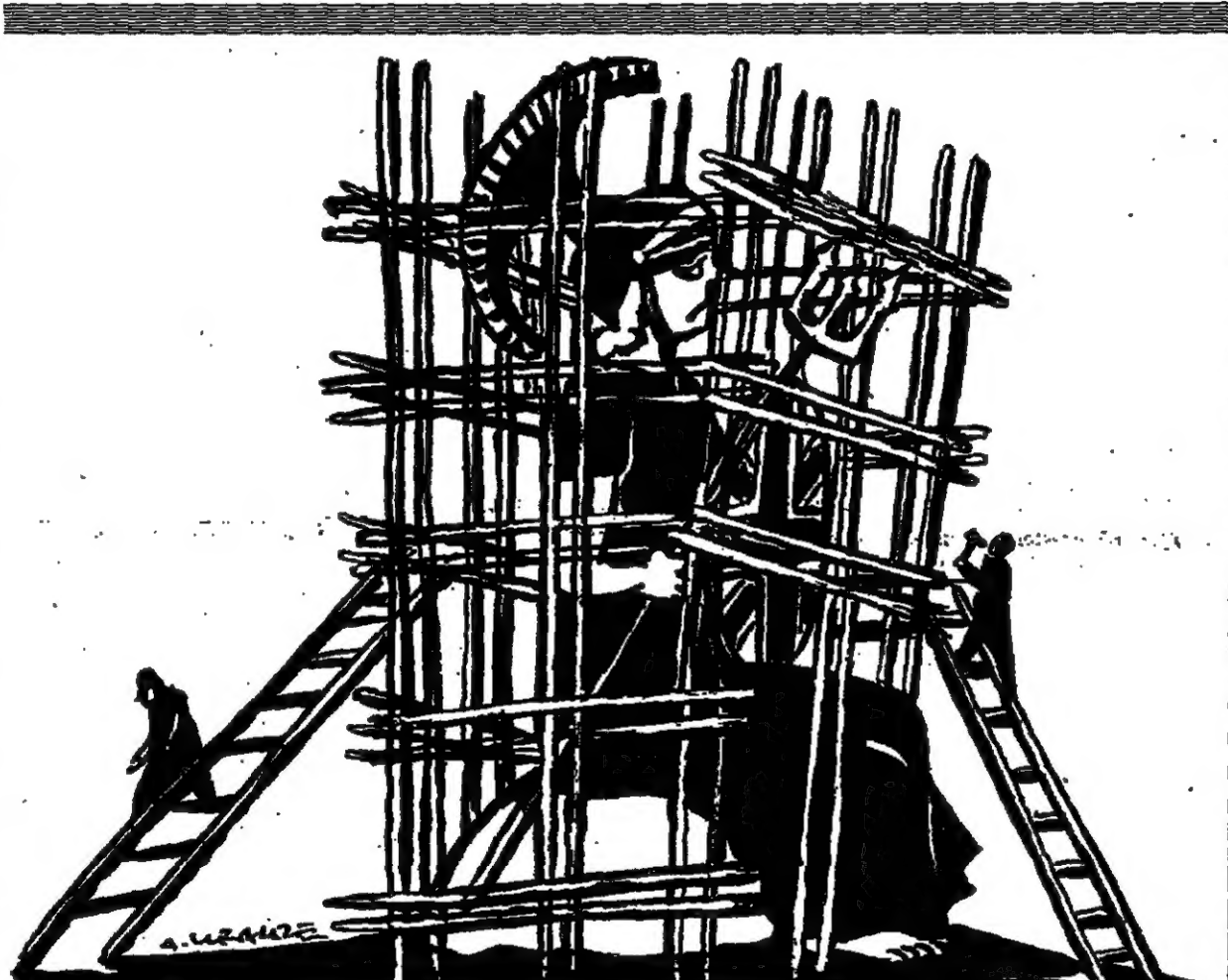
WHILE on this subject, I canvass for a candidate in the election for Rector of Glasgow University, who speaks there at lunchtime today. He is Professor Mohammed Al Mas'ari who seeks asylum here, but whom Michael Howard and Anne Widdecombe are deporting to Dominica. Let me explain why. The professor supports free and regular elections to parliament by universal male and female suffrage, freedom of speech and free trade unions.

SALE OF HIGHLY DISTRESSED Combined Furniture & Dining Chairs for early home. WHAT'S LEFT OF THE PUBLIC SECTOR would have been left with subject in A.S.V.

on Feeling with feeling

Diary

the party



Battle for Britain

Tony Blair believes we have reached the third critical point in post-war politics, and argues that his stakeholder dream can change people's lives

TEN YEARS ago, Faith in The City, the report of the Archbishop of Canterbury's Special Commission on Urban Priority Areas, sounded a warning note about the condition of Britain. It argued that economic and social inequality were becoming more pervasive in our society and that we all had a moral responsibility, rich or poor, religious or secular, urban residents or country, to contribute towards the creation of a more just society.

is a necessity not a luxury. The most meaningful stake anyone can have in society is the ability to earn a living and support a family. So we propose education, employment and community initiatives for the young unemployed that would slash youth unemployment over a parliament. Benefit reforms would provide hope for the one-in-five workless households, trapped on benefit by a system designed for a labour market and family structure that no longer exists.

selection not standards. Our deficit for the average child is stark: last week, figures showed 50 per cent of 11-year-olds failing to reach expected standards at GCSE and A level we get as many good grades as the French and Germans. Overall, we rank 36th in the world education league.

3 BOOKS THAT TEACH YOU HOW TO WRITE FOR PROFIT. ORIGINALY SOLD FOR £45. THIS SPECIAL EDITION £5 each. How to Make Money Writing Short Paragraphs, How to Make Big Profits Preparing CV's, Earn £180 a Day Writing.



Joseph Brodsky

# Poet against an empire

**J**OSEPH Brodsky, who has died aged 55, was as gifted with words and the power of metaphor as any poet among his contemporaries, but the emergence of his gift at a particular time and place — he was born in Leningrad almost on the eve of the German invasion — brought him other endowments.

He became the heir to the great tradition of modernism in Russian poetry, rooted in the moment early in the century when Andrei Sinavsky believes, this was the finest poetry in the world. Anna Akhmatova in her passionate old age herself anointed him, saying she had heard nothing like his poems since Osip Mandelstam. Nadezhda Mandelstam, characteristically, was more sceptical. Akhmatova, she wrote in her memoir of her martyred husband, Akhmatova's great contemporary, might have overestimated the young Brodsky as a poet because "she was terribly anxious that the thread of the tradition she presented should not be broken, and imagining she was again surrounded by poets, she thought she could detect a ferment in the air like that of those early years." Still, Mrs Mandelstam went on, "He is... a remarkable young man who will come to a great end, I fear," which points to yet another, still more equivocal, endowment which came with that blessing of Akhmatova's.

In one of his penetrating essays on Mandelstam, Brodsky talks about the older poet's "growing identification" in the twenties, "with the archetypal predicament of a poet versus an empire."

This was also the predicament of the young Pushkin; and, before he was 24, of Joseph Brodsky too.

His career up to that point had not been of the kind that won gold stars or opinions in official Soviet society. For a start, he had been born a Jew ("100 per cent Jew, with a tremendous reservoir of guilt"), the son of a naval officer who had been dismissed when he reached the most senior rank permitted to Jews; this was in 1948, the year which saw the arrest and execution of the entire Leningrad party leadership. The son dismissed himself from school at the age of 15, read voraciously in the margins of various temporary jobs (one of them as a mortuary assistant at evening autopsies), and began writing at the age of 18, a crucial member of that generation and milieu he describes so

warmly in one of the autobiographical essays in his prose collection, *Less Than One*: "Nobody knew literature and history better than these people, nobody could write in Russian better than they, nobody despised our times more profoundly. For these characters civilization meant more than daily bread and a nightly hug. This wasn't, as it might seem, another lost generation. This was the only generation of Russians that had found itself, for whom Giotto and Mandelstam were more imperative than their own personal destinies."

He was taken up by Akhmatova on the strength of early poems — very different from hers — circulated in *samizdat*, and by his early twenties, reading at clandestine poets' gatherings, he had become the darling of a milieu where the natural Russian passion for poetry was again being pressure-cooked by censorship and repression. And this in spite of the picture Mrs Mandelstam gives of him at work: "I have heard Brodsky read his verse. An active part in the process is played by his nose. I have never known anything like it before in all my life: his nostrils expand and contract and do all kinds of funny things, giving a nasal twang to each vowel and consonant. It is like a wind orchestra." The quality of the writing spoke for itself just as unmistakably, however, in poems like *The Great Elegy* for John Donne, which dreams a sleeping 17th century London, a sleeping island, with the poet asleep under the dome of St Paul's, and his poems sleeping too: "The verses sleep. The starm lambi sleep/ The trochaeus sleep like guards, to left, to right/ and in them sleeps a glimpse of Lethe's brook, and something else beside it sleeping — fame."

Another glimpse of the young Brodsky shows him, when the ink was barely dry, reading this poem aloud *con amore* to his friend Anatoly Natman in a railway station booking hall, to the horror of the staff writers of Soviet citizens queuing for tickets.

Inevitably, this irregular patronage and fame, unauthorized by membership of the Writers' Union, was cut off even by a university degree, "mean" that he was soon taken up by critics of a different sort. In the days following the fall from grace of Khrushchev and his erratic de-Stalinising, the thought police of one kind and another, literary and adminis-

trative, reacted with predictable resentment to Brodsky's far from subdued display of talent and obduracy.

There were several nasty preliminary harrassments. In November 1963 he was attacked in the Leningrad press (a piece headed *A Semi-literate Parasite*), and on a bitter night shortly before Christmas he was surrounded in the street by three men, wrestled into the back of a car and eventually held in the Kashchenko psychiatric hospital in Moscow until January 5. As soon as he returned to Leningrad he was arrested and finally brought to court on February 14, 1964 charged with social parasitism: since he wasn't a poet licensed by the Writers' Union or any other recognised authority, being a poet couldn't be held to be his lawful occupation, and by failing to take up any other, he was effectively a parasite or vagrant QED.

By then, however, civil courage among writers and those who cared for literature and freedom, had advanced to the point that a full note of the trial was taken by a woman journalist, and soon got out to the West. It included the famous exchange with the uncomprehending or wilful judge that inscribed Brodsky's name, willy nilly, in the roll of poet-baiters Herbert and Czeslaw Milosz, and English so he could learn deeply from and translate Donne and Andrew Marvell (his poem *The Butterfly* is an extraordinary re-creation and translation of the spirit of English metaphysical poetry). He also needed English to be able properly to read Auden, another hero among the older generation of living poets, who during the early years of his coming exile would be important to him in a new literary education at school where they prepare you, where you can learn?"

Brodsky: "I didn't think poetry was a matter of learning." Judge: "What is it then?" Brodsky: "I think it is... [with evident embarrassment]... a gift from God." Judge: "Further three weeks among the actually mad and 'officially mad' in a psychiatric clinic to which experience we owe the mordant Beckett-like *Cartes* of Gorbunov and Gorbachov, he was sentenced to exile with five years hard labour on a remote state farm in Archangel province, but after less than two years, following as much pressure from Russian and foreign writers as could be brought to bear on that



"I am a poet" ... Joseph Brodsky was the anointed heir to Russian modernism and to the bitter tradition of persecuted writers

system, he was released in November 1965, to return to Leningrad, in poor health but for the time being at least, in peace. The years that followed he spent partly learning Polish in order to be able to translate Zbigniew Herbert and Czeslaw Milosz, and English so he could learn deeply from and translate Donne and Andrew Marvell (his poem *The Butterfly* is an extraordinary re-creation and translation of the spirit of English metaphysical poetry). He also needed English to be able properly to read Auden, another hero among the older generation of living poets, who during the early years of his coming exile would be important to him in a new literary education at school where they prepare you, where you can learn?"

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transcending the sounds and structures of any one tongue. As he put it in his acceptance speech when he was made Nobel laureate in 1987, it's not that language is the poet's instrument, but that he is its vessel.

If language was something like his god, separation made Mnemosyne Josef Brodsky's muse and consoling mate in his bereavement. Most literature is an art of memory, and all exiles are also sentenced to be memorialists, but the intensity of the gaze with which he conjured Leningrad's streets and buildings out of his Baltic marshland mists in poem after poem, and page after page of his prose, has more than a touch of the manias about it. In corners of cities everywhere, his sensitised eye found pieces of "Peter", as his natives were not to be dissuaded from knowing it a gesture, a mood, a pediment, the limb of a statue. "I, too, once lived in a city whose cornices used to court / clouds with statues..." he writes in a poem for his Italian publisher. And passionately as he loves Venice, in his last prose work, *Watermark*, one often senses behind its celebrations of his love, the presence of that other, Northern dreamworld floating not in the Adriatic but the Baltic.

He repeats in *Watermark* the notion — "water is the image of time" — most memorably deployed in a Petersburg essay in *Less Than One*, the earlier prose collection which may prove to be the book by which he is best remembered by readers without Russian. "Reflected every second by thousands of square feet of running silver amalgam," wrote this son of a sailor-turned-photographer, this wideawake revenant scanning the quays of the Neva, "it's as if the city were constantly being filmed by its river." Like his abiding preoccupation with time itself, it reminds you of his master Mandelstam, whose *Journey to Armenia*, for example, another visit recollected in short "takes", is as full of metaphors that make your hair stand on end. And like Mandelstam too, with all his sower of memory Brodsky is eminently a poet of his present time, and a "renewer of language", as one of his best critics puts it, wrestling stoically with the bleak existential themes of the late twentieth century, but also quickly getting to grips with the second, Anglo-American culture history has required him to take on. (He wrote his first poem in English, an *Elegy* on the death of Auden in 1975.)

"Growing old? Good day, my old age!" The poet and his poetry had been fighting the battle with Time and death at least since the age of 32.

Time equals cold. Each body, sooner or later, falls prey to the

telescope. With the years, it moves away from the luminary, grows colder.

But the gift of the Word grants a stay of execution and, if not immortality, an afterlife warmed by the spirit's aspiration: ... to God's least creature is given voice for speech, or for song — a sign that it has found a way to bind together, and stretch life's limits, whether an hour or day.

The way in which the Word most signally defeats Time (and other tyrannies, however) is by remembering. "And there was a city," he writes in the title piece of *Less Than One*, recalling his roots to school along the Neva. "The most beautiful city on the face of the earth. With an immense grey river that hung over its distant bottom like the immense grey sky over that river. Along that river there stood magnificent palaces with such beautifully elaborated facades that if the little boy was standing on the right bank, the left bank looked like the imprint of a giant mollusk called civilization. Which ceased to exist."

W L Webb

Joseph Brodsky, poet, born Leningrad, May 24, 1940; died January 28, 1996

Time equals cold. Each body, sooner or later, falls prey to the

Harold Brodkey

# Literary calculations

**H**AROLD Brodkey, who has died aged 65, was America's most famous unread writer. He was famous for the quality of his withholding; for almost 30 years he worked on a great American waster, that of producing a late 20th century novel of Melville-like stature. He received advances from at least five publishers for this novel; its arrival was announced — "Brodkey delivers" — on a New York Times front page. But the *Sunday Book* did not appear until 1991, and it baffled and disappointed most critics.

Thus Brodkey, in literary terms, had two lives: before and after the novel. The life before was a crescendo of unwritten promises (the critic Harold Bloom called Brodkey "an American Proust"); the life after publication was life after verification. Brodkey had been examined and given

barely a pass. He had lost his waster. And indeed, after publication, Brodkey seemed winded and discarded. A tall and striking man had become grey and spindly. But Brodkey was also sick. In 1983, the New Yorker (where he had been a staff writer) published his open letter, announcing that he had AIDS, and suggesting, improbably, that he had been infected in the late sixties. (Brodkey is survived by his second wife, the novelist Eben Schurman, and his two sons, away from New York.)

His shroud was one of his finest works. This beautiful essay calmly accepted death and probed the limits of immortality with characteristic metaphysical bravado. Death, to Brodkey, seemed "soft, soft, soft, soft, soft." The self becomes that with metamorphosis... and to have a not-quite-great-enough fearlessness toward that immensity of the end of individuality,

toward one's absorption into the dance of particles and inaudibility." More simply, he ended: "Really, I can say nothing further at this point. Pray for me."

He was born in Illinois. His mother died when he was 17 months old, and he was adopted by his father's second cousin, Doris Brodkey, who lived in Missouri. This upheaval, and Doris's cancer when Brodkey was eight, shaped his creative life. In his short stories and in *The Runaway Soul*, Brodkey would recreate, and drown again in, those traumas. Brodkey grew up thinking of himself as an orphan, and his striving for originality may be seen as an attempt to be parentless, to be free of literary ancestors: to be out of time.

Brodkey belonged to that American strain that feels, as Melville put it, that "it is better to fail in original-

ity than to succeed in imitation."

Nevertheless, Brodkey's first collection of stories, *First Love And Other Stories*, which appeared in 1968, was dutiful, accomplished, and palpable. Indebted to J D Salinger, like Saul Bellow's, he published a 30-page fragment in the New Yorker; these scraps fed the celebrity-beast, and excited great anticipations — and great apprehensions too. When these fragments were collected in a book of stories published in 1988 called *Stories In An Almond Classical Mode*, there was a sense that a fine and original voice had been added to American fiction.



Brodkey... America's Proust

Brodkey's prose was unlike any other contemporary writer's. Stylistically, it had some of the "fine excess" of Romantic lyric, mixed with a distinctive American hospitality towards the sublime. Philosophically, it was outlandishly post-Freudian.

Brodkey sought to flood the self in meaning, to reach beyond selfhood toward its amateurishness, its infinite diaphanousness. He was interested in conveying to the reader a grotesque minuteness. If that involved 30 pages on the exact

tonalities of his mother's speech, or 30 pages on the bliss and struggle of one act of oral sex — his most famous story, called *Innocence* — then so be it. No one could accuse Brodkey's writing of falling in imitation.

Yet this prose can be wearisome. Like Whitman and Lawrence, which it resembles, Brodkey's prose, for all its hesitations and waverings and serpentine sentences ("sort of" and "partly" were his favourite words) can be oddly dogmatic. When Brodkey's great novel finally appeared, most critics decided that they did not want to be lectured to.

But Brodkey's stories will certainly last; and there are stretches of his 900-page novel *Runaway Soul* with a majestic, at the simplest level, Brodkey was a lovely poet, a describer of trees and light: "The trees around me were in new leaf, shyly pointillist." Or writing about the air at dawn: "Partly asleep, partly awake, but in waltz, trembling with heavy moisture." The American urge, which has its roots in Transcendentalism, to challenge holiness, to make an original god of

every man, will never leave American writing, and will always be vulnerable to English pragmatism and Occam's razor. It will always look a little foolish.

And Brodkey did look foolish. He became famous not for his writing, but for the flashy gymnastics of his career. He toyed with journalists and critics, played flirtatious games with the literary world's opinion of him. Brodkey ran his career with an eye for the quotable, while denying that he was running anything, or indeed that he had a career. He was both supremely worldly and genuinely intoxicated with literature — and hence supremely unworried. He liked to set up impossible obligations. "Either I am truly great, or I am a fraud," he said to me when I interviewed him. He was, perhaps, monstrously innocent. He believed himself when he said such things.

He was calculating, but all his greatest calculations were directed towards literature.

James Wood

Harold Brodkey, writer, born 1930; died January 26, 1996

Jackdaw



**Demi diva**

MOST PEOPLE think that being a diva is about attitude, but when you live and breathe divadom, as I do, you learn that there are no hard-and-fast rules for being a diva, only because if there were, no diva would lower herself to follow them. In fact, I don't even like to consider myself a diva, a denial which is by itself a sign of divadom, and if you don't agree with me, you're fired.

Just kidding. Really, I am a benevolent diva, and know I must be a diva, because I do have some of the indispensable diva travel accessories, like my portable pets (a Yorkie and

a miniature Doberman, each under three pounds) and my giant diamonds... The diamonds are also under three pounds, but I'm working on it. For my birthday, my husband bought me a miniature diamond engagement ring to wear on a chain, and some diamond earrings of a major, major nature, but unfortunately, since I fall into the category of being a diva with a pinhead, they're too much, even for me. And of course, nothing travels as well as part-ownership in a hugely profitable national restaurant chain...

A true diva will do anything for her art. I have even gone so far as to roll around in a semicircle on piles of money and Michael Douglas. And in my next movie, *Gi Jane*, my hair gets shaved off on-camera, which should be pretty glamorous, though maybe not as glamorous as standing on a set in a bra and G-string during a night shoot when you have a cold and have to keep two tissues stuffed up your nose so it won't run all over your perfectly defined diva lips.

My husband is also a diva,

and the problem with a double-diva marriage is that we've created diva offspring. United in our divadom, we look forward to a morning without being peed on, which I think always adds a touch of class to the day, personally. When I get to the set, I fall into the chair for some simultaneous face poking and hair pulling, and occasionally get a leg's worth of body makeup done, which goes pretty quickly, because when you have a job that entails body make-up going up to the crutch, you learn to get it down to at least an hour and a half.

The next phase of this glamorous process is the wardrobe fittings, and in the particular case of *Strip-tease*, that means the joy of things that go up your butt. After I'm all dry-cleaned and dressed, we move to the final phase, plucking stray hairs out of my legs with tweezers. Perversely, I have come to love this, and am obsessively searching for the perfect tweezers. Unfortunately, so far I haven't found any diamond-studded ones.

Still, being a diva isn't all hard work. You always get a good table at restaurants. You

don't have to walk long distances in uncomfortable shoes, although you do have to walk small, repetitive distances in uncomfortable shoes for movies.

**Village news**

IT TAKES a village to raise a child.

Of course it does. After all, children can be such a burden when there are cattle futures to be traded, words to be saved and political campaigns to be won. Few parents, particularly those who have freely chosen that most family-unfriendly of professions, politics, can do it themselves. So indeed it does take a village, preferably one transported from Guatemala or some such place where the natives gladly will provide what Hillary Rodham Clinton so delicately calls "surrogate care" in exchange for a few Yankee dollars off the books.

The full title of Mrs Clinton's little book of proverbs, pieties and public

policy ought to have been: *It Takes A Village — and Lots of Nitty Gritty Government Programs Which Parents Have Managed to Live Without for Centuries*.

The warm and fuzzy lectures of the high and mighty have become a tiresome and even offensive spectacle, because there is hardly a more self-centred, self-absorbed, anti-family business than that of tramping far and wide in search of votes, campaign contributions and the adulation that makes it all worthwhile. Asking politicians to instruct us in the art of raising children is something like consulting the US Conference of Catholic Bishops for tips on sexual performance. They mean well, and they may even have something worthwhile to say, but ultimately they're just guessing...

Mrs Clinton's solutions offer nothing new. The book combines *Hints From Heloise* ("If a can of soda held upright sits through the slats on the side of a baby's crib, the space between them is too wide") with politics-of-meaning babble ("All of us must renew

our own sense of spirituality and work to live up to its expectations and values") and bald-faced political partisanship ("As my husband said in his 1995 State of the Union address..."). Throw in... a selection of sugarcorned quotes ("There's no place like home") and you have a volume that contributes little to the debate about children. Although it does at least offer an advance look at this year's

Democratic Party platform. *Terry Galway takes a clear-eyed look at First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton's book It Takes A Village in the New York Observer*.

**Sniff sniff**

MY PERSONAL favourite is our Pureness skin-care line. The idea for this water-based moisturiser began when I was on holiday and sat watching a river flowing through a valley. The flow of pure cleansing water brought to mind the use of "purifying moisture" as a good marketing term, especially for younger skins.

THE PRODUCT of which I am most proud is our Blanc de Chanel... It was created to lighten some of the darker areas of the face and add luminosity to the skin, and can be mixed with a foundation. Admittedly, there's no particular product I wish I had created, but what I wish I could create is a mascara with an automatic brush. It would make it so easy to apply. Now that would be a cosmetic revolution.

**Birthdays**

Tony Blackburn, disc jockey, 53; Leslie Bricusse, composer, 65; Sacha Distel, singer, 63; Germaine Greer, feminist and writer, 57; Tim Healy, actor and comedian, 44; John Junkin, actor and scriptwriter, 68; Raymond Kessner, chess grandmaster, 67; Margaret Laird, Third Church Estates Commissioner, 63; Victor Mature, actor, 81; Julie Mellor, equal opportunities director, British Gas, 38; Andy Roberts, cricketer, 45; Keith Ross, actor, 55; Tom Selleck, film actor, 51; Viscount Tonyanspand, former Commons Speaker, 67; Brian Trubshaw, former test pilot, 72; Oprah Winfrey, actress, talk show host, producer, 42.

**In Memoriam**

PLINTOFF, Eddie (Eddie) who died suddenly on January 1994. Much loved, much missed and always remembered by all his family.

IF to place your announcement telephone 0171 411 5000

**MY FAVOURITE?** The Eye-shadow Prism, in any shade. It's a new concept for eye make-up, five shades and two textures all in a lovely compact, and no one had done it before. There's a real pleasure in succeeding with your work, in seeing a new concept become a classic.

**MY FAVOURITE creation** goes back to 1985. The name... Poison, was so bold. I remember we spent our time swinging between great excitement and complete terror at what we had done. I do admire the fragrance Shooking from Schiaparelli, although it's no longer available. This was a real surrealist creation which inspired so many other fragrances houses. *Cosmetics creators reveal their secrets to Harpers & Queen*.

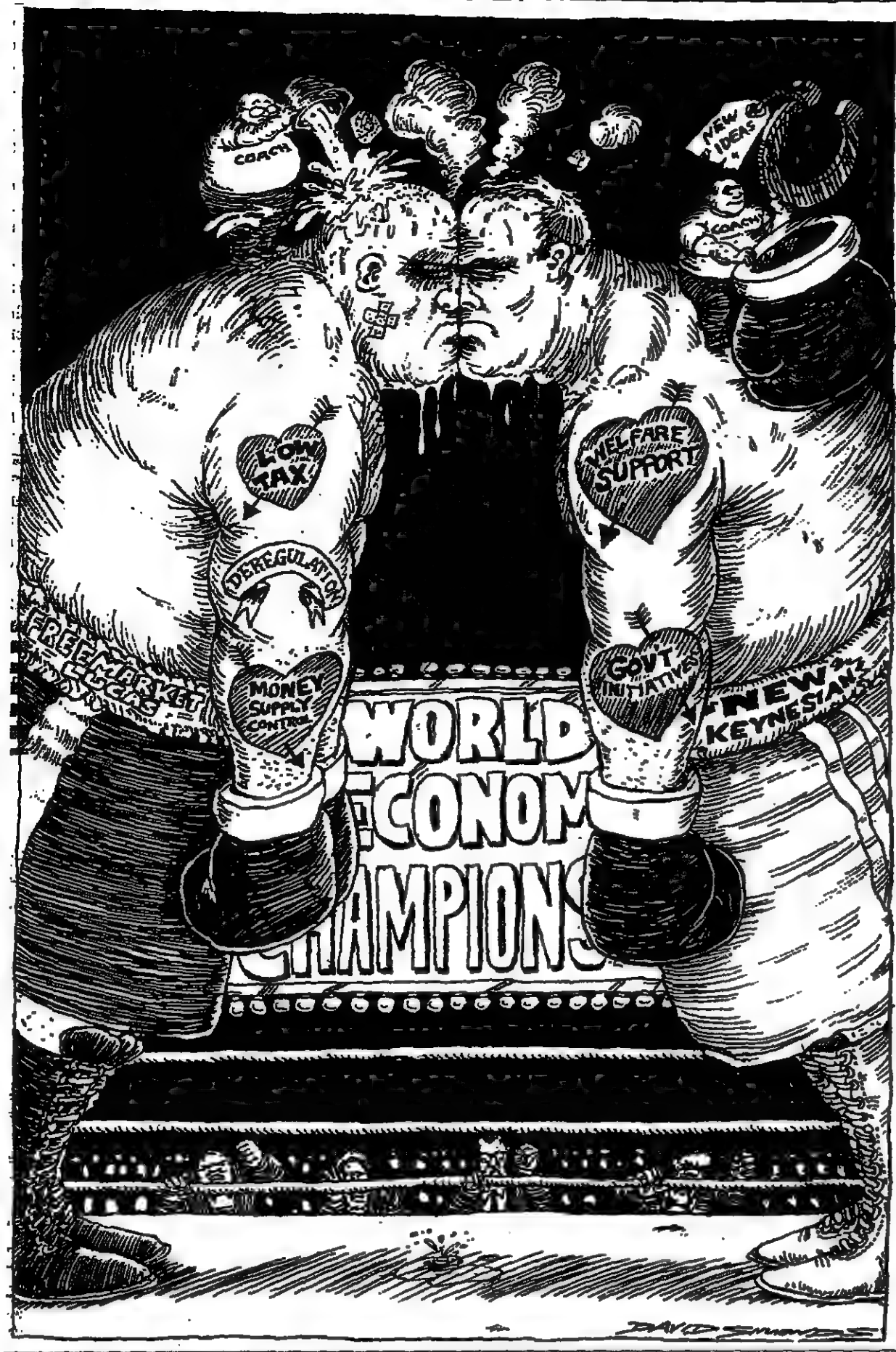
**Jackdaw wants your jewels.** E-mail jackdaw@guardian.co.uk, fax 0171-715 4368; Jackdaw, The Guardian, 119 Farringdon Road, London EC1R 3ER.

**Dan Glaister**

سكنا من الامل



# Who's whistling the best tunes now?



Will Hutton

**T**HE two great traditions in economic thought — Keynesian and laissez-faire — have fought themselves to a standstill. The so-called neo-classical counter-revolution that gained ascendancy over the past 20 years has at last run its course but, although the new Keynesians have arrested its intellectual advance, they have yet to turn their advantage into winning the policy debate. These are in-between times.

The right's setback is remarkable, especially as sheer momentum still allows it to set the political agenda and thus give the apparent first free-market principles if they were to break the logjam of stagflation.

Vigour in argument has not been matched by subsequent economic performance — hence the growing vulnerability to counter-attack. In the case of the long-run growth rate is unchanged, while the business cycle seems as unstable as it ever was. In Britain, the growth rate may have improved relative to our European peers, but it has still fallen absolutely.

Britain's deficiency in manufacturing productivity has partly closed, but that has brought no accompanying improvement in the growth of manufacturing output. And, if inflation has declined, so it has with the rest of the world. The rate of inflation is only marginally against the average. This is a pretty chequered record, and the right's intellec-

tual case needs even more careful scrutiny.

The counter-revolutionaries' attack in the 1970s was two-pronged. Governments, they argued, should drop any attempt actively to manage the level of demand in the economy through fiscal policy (changing the gap between government spending and revenues) or monetary policy (changing interest rates and the liquidity in the financial system). All they should do is make sure the amount of money in circulation grew constantly to ensure minimal or no inflation.

Microeconomic policy should be focused solely on ensuring that market incentives were as pure as possible. In the US, in particular, a group of so-called "supply-siders" insisted that taxation was the major economic distortion blighting western economies.

Behind these claims — highly congenial to Conservatives everywhere — lay some fancy new economic theory. Discretionary macroeconomic policy of the type Keynes favoured was necessarily self-defeating, argued University of Chicago professors Milton Friedman and Robert Lucas over the 1970s. If governments tried to offset the effect of a recession or boom, then, paradoxically, the impact would be to make the next swing in the economic cycle more, not less, unstable. Stagflation arose because of government attempts at economic management, along with high taxes and union power.

Prof Lucas's theory of rational expectations argued, in essence, that as long as markets work freely, economic agents never make other than short-term mistakes in understanding what is going on around them.

A recession, for example, is caused not by deep-set market failure but by the short-run phenomenon that firms and workers do not drop their prices quickly enough to price themselves back into activity. They can't be sure in the initial stages of the downturn whether they need to lower their prices, but once they realise they face a recession they soon realise what they have to do, and the econ-

omy self-regulates itself back to normal. The best economic policy in response is patience.

The Bank of England or the Treasury cannot be substantially wiser than the many firms which make up the economy, so they will act only when everyone else is recognising what is going on, and thus boost an economy that is already recovering, causing it to overshoot if policy has any real effect, said the new right.

There is also the notion that the only good direction for taxation is down. This just about held up when inflation and interest rates were in double figures in the 1970s, so that, as Harvard's Professor Martin Feldstein showed, taxation of the high nominal interest rates paid to savers without adjusting for inflation meant that the real return on savings after inflation went negative — depressing the incentives to save and so reducing saving and investment levels.

It is obviously true that very high marginal rates of tax are deterrents to effort. But once inflation falls to low levels and high marginal tax rates are reduced, the tax-cutting supply-siders are left with little substantive proof for their claims.

AS MIT's Professor Paul Krugman argues, even the great hopes of free-market economics like the University of Chicago never endorsed the wider supply-siders' case. Today there is no US economist of the stature of Martin Feldstein pushing the idea that tax cuts paid for themselves by the boost to economic activity, and the case is made by right-wing ideologues rather than economists.

The same is increasingly true of the critics of Keynesian demand management. American New Keynesians have made a substantial dent in the idea that rational expectations mean the entire conception is impossible. Professors George Akerlof at MIT and Greg Mankiw of Harvard have developed the intriguing idea that it is rational for economic agents not to be completely rational. Most of us proceed not by exhaustively gathering every piece of infor-

omation so that the market bounces back to normal as we realise our mistakes, they say, but by making rough guesses.

A restaurateur doesn't change his prices every day. And taxpayers don't think when the government borrows money for a large road-building programme, that it will have to raise taxes some time in the future to pay off the debt so they had better save now to be ready for the extra taxation. It might be "rational", but nobody in the real world behaves like that.

But if individuals are rational in being nearly rational, then Friedman's and Lucas's proof that demand management is self-defeating fails. Economies, as Keynes said, can get locked into disequilibria for long periods because individuals and firms are just unable to find the theory of rational behaviour the economy to return by itself to the path of rising output and full employment. Prices are not reliable enough in a nearly rational world to coordinate economic activity except in the very long run, and by then we are dead.

We need the government to act to break the impasse; and the economy does respond to deflationary and expansionary stimuli.

There is growing acceptance that the quality of human capital, public infrastructure and trust relations within firms are key determinants of growth. Economists arguing for capitalism and carelessness about inequality and income distribution are increasingly hard to find, even on the free-market right.

But, on the left, there are few who advocate old-fashioned government pump-priming and intervention. The new Keynesian ideas advocate government acting more subtly, building up human and physical capital, moderating inequality. While accepting that demand management remains a powerful tool, it is best used sparingly.

It is fashionable to argue that the right still has all the best tunes. Wrong. Its case is overplayed. A new range of ideas is emerging that will underpin a new politics. The only question is how long it will take to get there.

## Increased speed on M4 causes some to fear inflationary pile-up

**Briefing**  
**Richard Thomas**

**Q**UICKLY, virtually unnoticed, monetarism's corpse finally stopped twitching this month. Chancellor Kenneth Clarke delivered his second quarter-point cut in interest rates in five weeks, just days before figures were released showing the money supply growing at a double-digit annual rate for the first time in more than four years.

"To most of us, M4 is a flat lead to South Wales. But to economists the measure of broad money — including sterling in all bank and building society accounts, as well as cash in circulation — is a bone of contention. To some, any rise represents storm clouds on the inflation front. To others, it is of little concern."

Professor Tim Congdon, a broad-money specialist at Gerrard and National, says an increase in M4 inevitably leads to higher prices. "At the end of the day, you can't simply get rid of money," he said. "And money isn't held for any other reason than to after consumption. You might have lots of investments, but if you get a bit more you might well say: I might as well go and buy that yacht after all." If demand for money rises, overall demand will eventu-

ally be stoked up, prices will rise. Period.

Mr Clarke and Eddie George, Governor of the Bank of England, were worried about M4 last July, when it was growing at an annual rate of 6.7 per cent, well inside the Treasury's 5 per cent monitoring range. Now, with M4 growth at 10 per cent, they must be really worried and even thinking about putting base rates up again.

Although takeovers drive up asset prices — and by extension the wealth of the owners of those assets — he argues that little will leak money on the corporate side. In contrast to the housing-related demand of the 1980s, firms have borrowed on a big scale to fund Glaxo/Wellcome-style takeovers — Mr Cole has identified 241 billion worth of mergers and acquisitions in 1995.

There is another reason not to be too complacent about M4. The composition of the higher demand for money is pretty benign now. Flush with cash, the banking sector is, however, looking to offload some of it — on to you and me. Money is being marketed more aggressively, leading to more relaxed a little, incentives such as cashbacks and rate discounts offered. This kind of supply-side action could shift demand for money from the personal sector to a few notches, especially if consumer confidence begins to return. Consumption could really start motoring.

All this is likely to remain academic, though. Even if the transmission belt between money and inflation is running, the end result will be slow in coming — Prof Congdon talks about 1998.

Mr Cole estimates that a 10 per cent increase in equity prices results in an inflation rate only 0.2 of a point higher four years later. By contrast, a 10 per cent jump in house

prices causes a two-point rise in retail price inflation.

But Prof Congdon says this analysis understates how an increase in the amount of money in one area can affect behaviour elsewhere. If the value of a pension fund increases, the parent company might decide to reduce its contributions and give workers higher wages instead — which would feed quickly into the high street.

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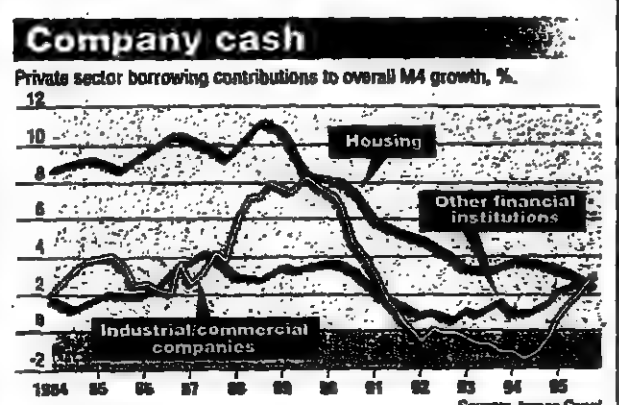
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## A woman's place is now in front line of empirical observation

**Debate**  
**Jane Humphries and Shirley Dex**

**I**N AN article in the Guardian last November, Anna Palmer argued that economics, as a discipline, is male-dominated in that its practitioners are mainly men, and as a subject is sexist and gender-blind.

Palmer is right to say that economists are mainly men. Women have been conspicuously absent as researchers and in the classroom. Issues to do with women have been neglected as the subjects of research. Most economists would agree with this liberal feminist critique of economics and endorse affirmative action in response. The increasing representation of women should carry with it a gender-sensitive broadening of the empirical domain of economics to include more topics relevant to women.

But economics, unlike many disciplines, is defined not by subject matter, an empirical domain, but by methodology. Work on hitherto neglected topics — the family, sex discrimination — poses no challenge to mainstream practices. Yet it is precisely these practices, the methodology of economics, which feminist economists mistrust.

All too often the work of mainstream economists seems to rationalise and reinforce traditional gender stereotypes. Feminists have traced their dissatisfaction to economists' failure to understand why they need to lower their prices, but once they realise they face a recession they soon realise what they have to do, and the econ-

omist economists, must be to struggle to understand the real world. We would argue that neo-classical economics itself is undergoing change. Rational economic man has been revamped. Markets and exchange, hitherto the be-all and end-all of economics, appear as only one solution to the co-ordination problem.

While it would be far-fetched to see the changes within the discipline as the result of feminist criticisms, recognition that rationality and markets are imperfect has implications for the analysis of the family and women in the labour market which feminists cannot ignore.

Nancy Folbre, for example, (Who Pays for the Kids? Gender and the Structures of Constraint, 1994) has exploited the opportunities implicit in these developments to replace

the old "choices" — whereby women choose to specialise in home-making because of their low earning capacity, while being simultaneously unable to command high pay because of this specialisation — by a theory of female rationality, building up human and physical capital, moderating inequality. While accepting that demand management remains a powerful tool, it is best used sparingly.

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**Indicators**

**TODAY** — UK: Bank mortgage lending (Dec).  
JP: Industrial production (Dec).  
**TOMORROW** — US: FOMC meeting.  
US: Retail sales (Dec).  
**WEDNESDAY** — US: Chicago NAPM (Jan).  
UK: Minutes of 13th December Chancellor/Governor meeting published.  
UK: Economic trends (Dec).

**THURSDAY** — US: Bundesbank council meeting.  
UK: Purchasing managers index (Jan).  
UK: Consumer credit (Dec).  
UK: Visible trade (Nov).  
UK: Mortgage lending (Dec).  
**FRIDAY** — UK: Official IASURES.  
US: Unemployment rate (Dec).  
US: Non farm payrolls (Jan).  
Source: NatWest Markets

**Worm's eye**  
**Dan Atkinson**

**T**HE Marcus Nelson Murders, the 1973 film that introduced the detective Kojak, ranged him against an intellectually corrupt prosecutor so determined to convict a black youth that he effectively put the defendant on trial twice.

That technique was described in the film as "getting him coming and getting him going". Just like the case of our own Kevin Maxwell, except that the real affair upon which the film was based did not involve suggestions from the US attorney-general that

the jury system should be done away with in cases of this kind and replaced by a "panel of experts" (presumably racist cops).

Nevertheless, no one can say the Maxwell defendants were not forewarned about the likely reaction of the authorities to a flouting of the official will. Two weeks and two days before Kevin and Ian Maxwell were arrested on June 18, 1992, the Danish electorate voted out the Maastricht treaty, thus legally killing the plans for economic and monetary union. That verdict was not allowed to stand for long, either. Europe's top brass graciously allowed the Dames another chance to get it right. Just as Britain's jurors have an opportunity to repent their foolish Max-

well acquittal. In legal circles, that tactic is known as abuse of process, but the brass do not see it like that. It is genuine in its quest for correctness in economic policy, all the way up from an individual fraud case to the European monetary union. The need to have the correct decisions approved by untortured voters and jurors is a major inconvenience. Consider the case of Norway, whose rejection of European Union membership was greeted with contemptuous assurances that the Norwegians would have to think again within 10 years.

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Belgium 44.60	Greece 388.00	Netherlands 2.45	Spain 104.00
Canada 2.0150	H Kong 11.45	N Zealand 2.23	Sweden 10.38
Cyprus 0.7025	India 54.54	Norway 8.60	Switzerland 1.74
Denmark 8.45	Ireland 0.86	Portugal 227.00	Turkey 86.528
Finland 6.84	Israel 4.74	S Arabia 5.57	USA 1.4700

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Tennis

David Irvine in Melbourne sees Boris Becker and Monica Seles recapture the Australian Open singles titles in the style of true champions

# Calm Becker collects again

**B**ORIS BECKER has invariably achieved his most satisfying and memorable deeds after surviving crises in the early rounds of Grand Slam tournaments. It is almost as if he needs his game to be tempered in the fires of controversy and danger.

So it was again here at Flinders Park yesterday when the German, who had risen phoenix-like from the ashes three times, seized back the Australian Open men's title he had suspected was for ever more beyond his reach.

It's five years since the last time I spoke to you. And to tell you the truth, he told an admiring 14,000 crowd after beating Michael Chang 6-2, 6-4, 3-6, 6-2. "I didn't think I had a Grand Slam left in me." And Becker, now 28, left no one in doubt that his seventh major title meant as much as the first he won as a 17-year-old at Wimbledon.

In 1985 Becker was a fearless, hungry — some would say arrogant — upstart, who was hardly aware of the enormity of what he was achieving. But here he was calm, patient, totally controlled and clear-headed, the elder statesman almost. That his appetite is restored, though, he made abundantly clear.

"It's not like tomorrow I'm going to put my feet up and relax, which I should, actually," he said. "No, I now believe I can win a couple more big ones. As long as my wife and son are there to support me and it doesn't look like I'm embarrassing myself in shorts, then I'm going to do it."

helpless marionette, it was hard to believe Becker had trailed by two sets in one against the British No. 1 Greg Rusedski in the first round, by two sets to Thomas Johansson in the second; and by a set and a break to Brett Steven in the fourth.

Maybe, having heard of Becker's early trials, Chang was lured into believing the German would start slowly against him. He could not have been more wrong. Becker came out firing and inside 12 minutes Chang was trailing 0-4 with only eight points to his name.

"I'm not going to relax. I believe I can win a couple more big ones"

foot by the power and authority of Becker's ground game and decisiveness and accuracy on the volley. "I had a clear game plan and it worked out to perfection," said Becker. Especially, it seemed, when he hit low, sliced approach shots to Chang's backhand to set up so many opportunities at the net.

Whether through a lapse in concentration or momentary tiredness, Becker wavered in the third set after missing two break points in the first game. Suddenly the fleet-footed Chang had the initiative and Becker, his serve backing, was making too many unforced errors.

fight for the third. And in the third game his chance came. A double fault by the American, after a mobile phone had pierced the silence as he prepared to serve, offered a tiny opening and an overture by the umpire, after Chang forsook had been called good at 30-30, unsettled the fifth seed further. Needing one point for a 2-1 lead, Becker lashed back a return which Chang netted.

Thereafter the Becker hand-wagon was back on track. Chang was fortunate to hold from 0-40 for 2-3, but fell behind 2-5 when Becker produced a cross-court forehand which Chang volleyed into the net. Three minutes later it was all over.

"I gave my best. Boris was just better than I was," said a disappointed Chang. Asked if he would ever add to the one Grand Slam title he collected in Paris in 1989, the American said he was still optimistic. "Sometimes people forget that I'm still only 23. I feel like my best tennis is ahead of me. I'm hopeful that opportunities will come again and that next time things will go my way."

Becker, now in what he calls the autumn of his career, did offer a timely reminder that it is dangerous to write off any player of proven ability, especially one like himself who has — out of necessity, he admits — systematically changed his game in the past two years to become a complete player rather than a one-dimensional competitor.

"In 1993 I changed my life completely with the one goal of trying to get back to the top level," he said. "And luckily I found a wife who supported me. When we met I was dropping down the rankings a bit and she said, 'Please do it one more time for me as I've never seen you as a Grand Slam winner.' I told her I was trying my heart out but it wasn't that easy. And it wasn't getting easier. But now I know the fire is back and I still have it in me."



Time to boom again... Becker powers to victory over Chang PHOTOGRAPH: ROSS SETFORD

# Seles focus on Wimbledon

**W**HEN Monica Seles, the new Australian champion, arrives at Wimbledon in late June to mount her challenge for the one major championship she has yet to claim, she will probably not have played competitively on grass for four years.

Her last match there was the 1992 final against Steffi Graf which she lost 6-2, 6-1. But that experience will not deter her.

Seles reached the US Open final last September after a 28-month absence from the game and one preparatory tournament, and here at Flinders Park on Saturday she defeated the German Anke Huber 6-4, 6-1 for her fourth Australian crown after only the 23rd match of her comeback.

reduced by much. But her tennis is, if anything, more phenomenal than ever. Huber, who gave it every thing, managed one terrific set but simply ran out of steam as Seles returned with interest everything thrown at her.

Yet the fact that both Huber and Chanda Rubin gave the No. 1 seed such a testing time is a heartening development for the women's tour after the criticism that its "bland, unimaginative and uncompetitive matches" (those are the main charges) have taken recently.

Over the next few months it will be no surprise if players such as Kimiko Date, Jana Novotna, Gabriela Sabatini, Mary Joe Fernandez and Maggie Maheva are passed by younger aspirants such as Rubin, Huber, Iva Majoli, Martina Hingis and Lindsay Davenport.

Seles... phenomenal

Hockey

## Britain draw boggy sides

**P**atrik Howley in Barcelona

**G**REAT BRITAIN have landed in the same group as their boggy sides Australia and Netherlands for the Olympics in Atlanta next July. This is their lot after all the effort of getting there over the past 10 days in the Olympic Qualifying Tournament here.

They will need to finish first or second in Group B to reach the semi-finals in Atlanta, but the group also includes South Korea, the most improved side in the world, South Africa and Malaysia.

Malaysia, whom they beat 3-2 on Saturday to guarantee their qualification, filled the fifth and last qualifying place yesterday in controversial fashion against India. Malaysia still needing a point to qualify, played out a goalless draw in circumstances that

Golf

## Woosnam back in the swing

**O**ur Correspondent in Singapore

**I**AN WOOSNAM produced two dramatic 28ft putts which in turn forced a play-off and then won the Johnnie Walker Classic here yesterday.

The 37-year-old Welshman, who had not had a tournament victory for 16 months and who ended the 1995 season contemplating retirement, bounced back with a stunning victory, beating the Scot Andrew Coltart with a birdie putt at the third hole of a play-off after they had tied on the 16-under-par total of 272.

Athletics

## Gardener's cage-rattler

**E**VERYBODY in the National Indoor Arena realised they had seen something special when Jason Gardener blurred across the blue carpet track to win the 60 metres in a remarkable 6.55sec during Saturday's international against Russia.

Only five British athletes have ever run faster indoors, including Linford Christie with 6.47, and Britain's chief coach Malcolm Arnold clearly experienced the tingle factor. "Jason is very much in the developmental phase but this was a staggering run. If Linford had run 6.55 first time out in an indoor season he would have been very, very pleased," he said.

In 1994 Gardener won silver at the world junior championships, prompting Arnold to select the Bath youngster in the relay squad for last year's senior event in Gothenburg. "There are athletes who will always produce decent performances, and then there are those athletes who can really perform," said Arnold. Clearly Gardener, whose family were not always keen on an athletics career for him, is one of the latter and his progress this season will come under close scrutiny.

## Reid saves day as England win shoot-out

**E**NGLAND'S women inflicted Germany's first defeat in a European Indoor Championship final when they won a dramatic penalty shoot-out 4-3 after the sides were locked at 2-2 at full time in Glasgow yesterday.

The goalkeeper Carolyn Reid was England's shoot-out heroine, twice denying the

seven-times champions with excellent saves. Jackie Crook, the captain Lynn Bollington, Mandy Nicholls and Sue Chandler all scored from the spot for England.

England had twice come from behind during the final, Crook making it 1-1 from a penalty corner and Sam Wright taking the game to penalties after Germany had

regained the lead in the second half. Earlier, Scotland missed out on a medal as they lost 4-1 to Spain in the third-place play-off. Spain, who included six of their gold medal winning side from the 1992 Barcelona Olympics, were worthy winners, with only Ellen Murray on the scoresheet for the hosts.

## Gebrselassie defies the bends

**E**THIOPIA'S Haile Gebrselassie set a 5,000 metres world best on his indoor debut on Saturday, his time of 13min 10.98sec chopping almost 10sec off the mark set by Tanzania's Solomon Nyamathi in New York in 1991.

It was his first time indoors and it was difficult with the bends," Gebrselassie said after the run in Sindelfingen, Germany. In Perth, Linford Christie won his second 100m in three days in a wind-assisted 10.0sec. "I'm still in heavy training so to run 10sec at this time of year is pretty good," he said. Colin Jackson took the 110m hurdles with a fast time of 13.14.

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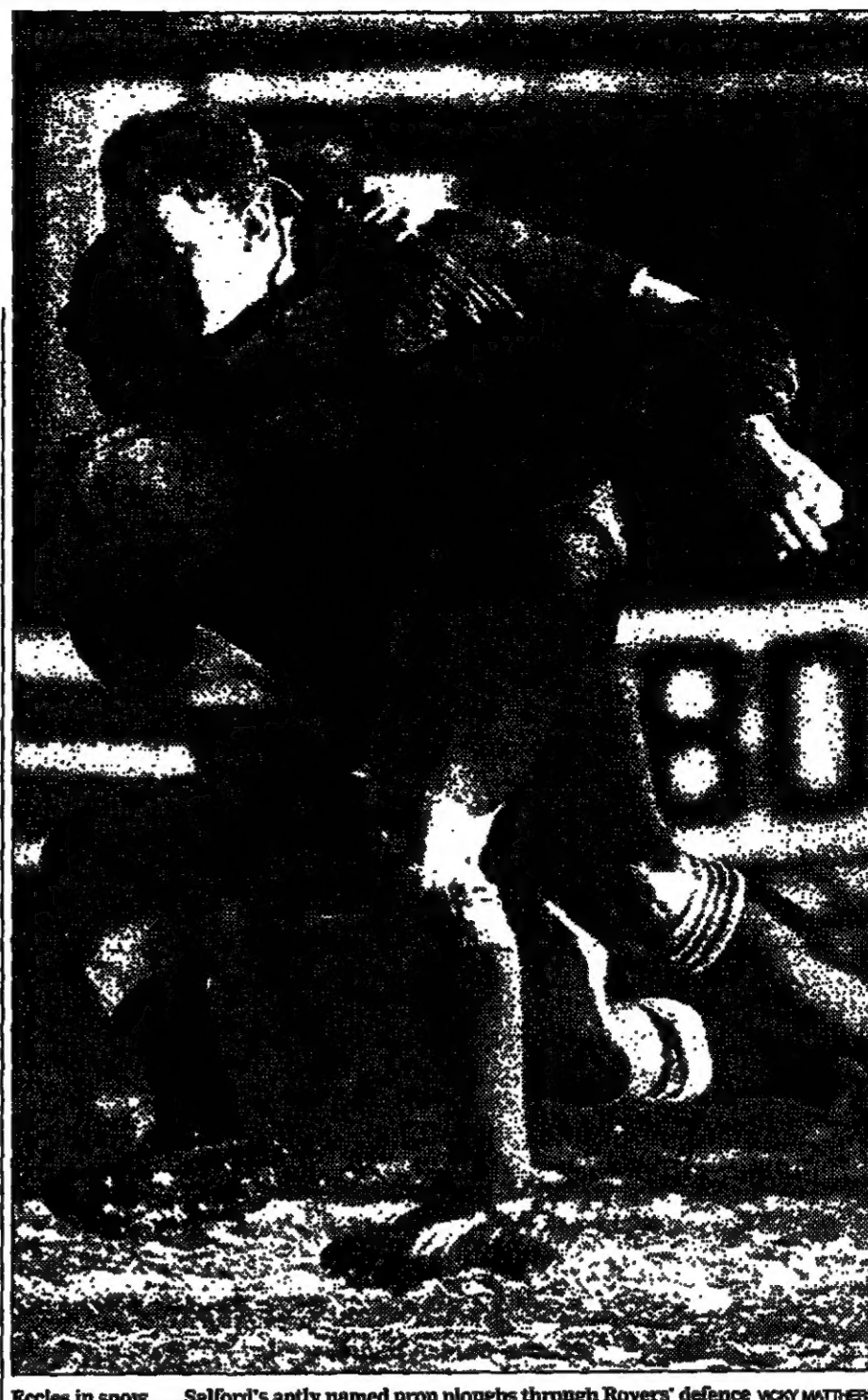
Rugby League Challenge Cup fourth round: Salford 35, Featherstone Rvrs 12

Vintage Hampson is toast of Reds

Paul Fitzpatrick S ALFORD do not have underground heating and called on a posse of volunteers to get their pitch fit to play yesterday. In one day they beat not only the Reds but Featherstone Rovers as well.

18-12 early in the second half and at that stage Salford were far from safe. But then, crucially, an alert interception by Steve Hampson prevented an almost certain Rovers try and from that point everything went Salford's way.

Salford led 12-6 at half-time with tries from their Western Samoa forward Savello and their Kiwi hooker Edwards, both the products of avoidable errors first by Rombo and then by Mackie, who made a wretched attempt to pick up the loose ball.



Eccles in snow... Salford's aptly named prop ploughs through Rovers' defence WICKY MATHERS

No sweat for Edwards

SHAUN EDWARDS, almost inevitably, was Man of the Match at Central Park yesterday after only scrapping into his 43rd successive Challenge Cup tie because his high-tackle ball was lifted, writes Chris Curtain.

The season one mid-table place beneath Friday's fall-guys York, won many admirers with a spirited display. They turned around 32-12 down but, as usual when part-timers try to do the whole 80 minutes with full-timers, were beaten pointless in the second half.

and setting the elite Eagles on the road to a 35-14 win that had looked remote in a first half in which the Featherstone strugglers levelled from 10-0 down.

Racing City deal makes Pipe smile

Chris Hawkins MARTIN PIPE may not have the star performers of previous years in his Somerset yard, but with 102 successes so far he has trained more than twice as many winners as anyone else this season.

Pipe commented: "Obviously I'm delighted. All my owners will benefit as Cathedral City's involvement will safeguard their VAT concessions which hinge on sponsorship."

Trophy (Europe's richest handicap hurdle) at Newbury first. Another Champion longshot is the Charlie Brook-trained Padre Mio, currently wintering in the warmer climes of Pisa in Italy together with his companion Countess Be Better.

together. Tony McEwan, one of my head lads, is over there looking after them. Padre Mio, who has to be kept interested, will probably benefit the most from the change in routine but both are entering five miles a day and should be better seems very relaxed.

Southwell all-weather Flat with form guide

Table with 3 columns: Race number, Race name, and list of horses with their jockeys and trainers. Includes races like 1.30 LONDONVILLE FILLIES HANDICAP and 2.00 FERRARIAN ACTION HANDICAP.

Table with 3 columns: Race number, Race name, and list of horses with their jockeys and trainers. Includes races like 3.00 ANTONI HANDBICAP and 4.00 FINEST GILLESPIE HANDICAP.

Ayr runners and riders

Table with 3 columns: Race number, Race name, and list of horses with their jockeys and trainers. Includes races like 1.10 Shamrock's Way and 2.40 Celtic Ghost.

2.40 Celtic Ghost

Table with 3 columns: Race number, Race name, and list of horses with their jockeys and trainers. Includes races like 2.40 Celtic Ghost and 3.10 STORMY COASTAL.

Plumpton card

Table with 3 columns: Race number, Race name, and list of horses with their jockeys and trainers. Includes races like 1.30 Home To You and 2.30 Sunset of Rattle.

2.50 Plumpton Handicap

Table with 3 columns: Race number, Race name, and list of horses with their jockeys and trainers. Includes races like 2.50 Plumpton Handicap and 3.50 Lewis Handicap.

RACELINE FULL RESULTS SERVICE 0891-168-168. Includes contact information for Plumpton, Ayr, and Southwell.

Better outlook DESPITE morning inspections, Ayr and Plumpton are optimistic that racing will go ahead today.

Tomorrow's Musselburgh card was given the all-clear yesterday and conditions have improved at Nottingham, who inspect at 10am this morning.

4.20 FINEST GILLESPIE HANDICAP... Includes details of the race and participating horses.



SOCER: FA CUP FOURTH ROUND

Tottenham Hotspur 1, Wolves 1

Spurs fazed by the maze

Martin Thorpe

FORGET the romance of the Cup. This was a meeting of minds rather than hearts.

Gerry Francis and Mark McGhee both inhabit the cerebral end of the managerial scale and, as technicians, are sooted by systems.

McGhee's master plan detailed two of his three central defenders, Richards and Young, to man-mark Armstrong and Sheringham while a through ball from Rankine to deny Caskey and the suspicion of a penalty when Thompson brought down Fox.

The equaliser came 16 minutes later when Austin, instead of running away with the ball, opted to find Walker, underhit the back-pass and Goodman's determined lunge pushed the ball past the goalkeeper's legs.

It is easy to understand why McGhee adopted the tactics he did; he is a new manager in a demanding job with an impression to make and a Premiership side to stall.

Having spent months mastering the manager's system of pressing for possession, the team have obviously not got round to learning what to do with the time left on their hands when possession is handed to them on a plate by a side happy merely to defend.

But it was also clear that Spurs lacked the invention and imagination necessary to find their way through such a formidable maze.

known what to expect from McGhee, for he dropped Rosenthal for Wilson to even up the central-midfield contest. But matching Wolves was one thing, overcoming them another.

The visitors rode their luck with some fine saves from Stowell, a brilliant last-ditch tackle from Rankine to deny Caskey and the suspicion of a penalty when Thompson brought down Fox. But Wolves, for sheer stubbornness and playing to orders, deserved their draw.

In the circumstances it was not surprising that both goals came from errors. Spurs went ahead on 15 minutes when Thompson passed in front of his defence but instead of finding Young found Wilson, who did well in scoring his first Spurs goal.

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Obviously Francis had



Splendid isolation... Cantona contemplates his next move during United's win at Elm Park

Reading 0, Manchester United 3

White tinted by dash of red

Commentary

David Lacey

THOSE scanning the icy wastes of the weekend's football programme for a sign of hope will have noticed that when the FA Cup was severely disrupted in 1983 the trophy was eventually won by Manchester United.

Others, more intent on debunking history, may feel entitled to point out that in the season which has seen the fewest post-seasons since the second world war, 1947-48, the Cup was won by... guess who?

Either way Old Trafford has now reached a point roughly similar to that at which Ron Atkinson went out and Alex Ferguson came in. Once more the third successive appearance in the final this season Ferguson will regard it as an important staging post in the inevitable process of turning the team around.

As a builder of confidence and character, however, the FA Cup is invaluable, and should United make their third successive appearance in the final this season Ferguson will regard it as an important staging post in the inevitable process of turning the team around.

First Division: Millwall 1, Portsmouth 1

Eastern gifts little consolation for homesick Millwall

Russell Thomas

IT WOULD be tempting to say that south-east London cold-shouldered the second phase of Millwall's Russian revolution.

Even allowing for numbing temperatures and travelling difficulties, the turn-out — roughly half the number who greeted Yuran and Kulikov's arrival a fortnight earlier — compounded disappointment at the New Den on a day when Millwall's home malaise deepened.

The inescapable conclusion on Saturday was that lack of confidence as much as the cold gnawed at Millwall's bones. Mick McCarthy, with typical bluntness, summarised the failure to exploit a goal advantage over Portsmouth and numerical superiority for just over an hour.

face and Hughes sold on, few would have given much for United's chances of winning something.

Of course, the FA Cup could still prove United's Calvary this season, as it nearly did in the third round against Sunderland, who led at Old Trafford and Roker Park. On Saturday, however, less was left to chance.

Playing with more aplomb than hitherto, United continued their tour of the End-to-End League's pre-Taylor museums with a 3-0 win at Reading which was never seriously in doubt once Giggs had snapped up a rebound nine minutes before half-time.

Any shudders accompanying these proceedings were prompted not merely by the intense cold but by the realisation that had Reading managed to preserve their early lead against Bolton in last season's First Division play-off final, Manchester United and their like would now be making regular visits to Elm Park in the Premiership.

In the words of the Reading chairman John Madejski, Elm Park is a ground which, although dear to all our hearts, is some way past its sell-by date. Fifty years past, at a rough estimate.

Rumours that the 10p coin which hit a linesman during the second half was actually a shilling piece bearing the head of these proceedings were unfounded. And of course in the Forties Cantona would have had a banana to lob back into the crowd.

Nevertheless there is a certain irony in the council's granting Reading outline planning permission for a new stadium complex just off the M4.

Ferguson told United to "be sensible, keep it simple and keep the ball ahead of you". He might have added, "If in doubt, watch what the opposition are doing", since common sense and simplicity were fundamental to Reading's early optimism.

Walker sensed that Kevin Keegan's need for the former England midfielder was significantly greater than Blackburn's need for hard cash, and he insisted that any offer top £4 million before negotiations began.

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Fifth-round draw

Manchester's derby chance

David Lacey

MANCHESTER United, one of only two teams definitely through to the fifth round, face the prospect of a rare FA Cup encounter at home to Manchester City on Friday, a reunion with their former manager Ron Atkinson, now in charge at Coventry.

The chances of Aston Villa, the other team already through, reaching Wembley have been improved by a fifth-round tie at neighbouring Walsall, who lie halfway in the Second Division, or Ipswich of the First Division.

Manchester United and City have so far met four times in the Cup, United winning the last encounter 1-0 at Old Trafford in a third-round tie in 1987.

United won a fourth-round all-Manchester tie 3-0 in 1970 and before that lost 2-0 to City

at a similar stage in 1955. City won 3-0 in the 1926 semi-final.

Even if City win their postponed tie at Highfield Road, their hopes of making the quarter-finals this time will not be good. City have not won at Old Trafford since the last day of the 1973-74 season, when Denis Law's famous backheel sent United down.

Among a myriad of other possibilities are all-Premier-ship fifth-round encounters between Nottingham Forest and Tottenham, and Leeds United and Everton.

Despite Saturday's snow the Cup is unlikely to meet its fate of 1983, when the third round was not done until March 11. The FA is relying on both a break in the weather and police goodwill to see that the fifth round goes ahead in three weeks.

The FA wants any ties drawn next week to be replayed a week later, even though the police normally require 10 clear days between the games. If the police object to this, any outstanding fourth-round ties will be put back to Saturday February 17, date of the fifth round.

United won a fourth-round all-Manchester tie 3-0 in 1970 and before that lost 2-0 to City

THE DRAW table listing various football matches and their scheduled dates.

Keegan puts Batty first

Ian Ross

NEWCASTLE UNITED will spend the next few days concentrating on securing David Batty from Blackburn after putting the proposed \$8.7 million deal for Faustino Asprilla on the back-burner.

Batty would almost certainly be a Newcastle player already had Blackburn's benefactor Jack Walker not intervened late last week to veto a \$3.5 million transfer to the North-east.

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cluded before Newcastle entertain Sheffield Wednesday on Saturday.

Asprilla will definitely not be in attendance at the weekend, as clouds of uncertainty continue to shroud his proposed move from Italy.

Although he underwent a medical during his brief visit to Tyndeside last week, the results have yet to be revealed.

There are fears that the Colombian striker is troubled by a long-standing knee injury.

If that hurdle is cleared, Newcastle still face the problem of securing a work permit for a man who has a criminal record; he is serving a suspended prison sentence for illegal possession of firearms.

Asprilla himself is committed to the transfer. "There is no way I can go back to play for Parma after what has happened," he said yesterday. "It's good for me to move now."

Yeboah puts Ghana in semis

TONY YEBOAH scored the goal that put Ghana through to the African Nations' Cup semi-finals yesterday. The Leeds striker turned in an Abedi Pele cross in the 32nd minute of the game in Port Elizabeth to send his team on the way to a 1-0 win over Zaire.

Zaire paid for their uncom-

promising approach when they had Nzele Lembi sent off in the 20th minute for aiming a high kick at Pele. Yeboah escaped punishment when he appeared to elbow Ntumba Danga in the face.

Pele suffered most. He sprained an ankle and will miss the semi-final against South Africa.

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Scottish Cup third round

Whitehill Welfare 0, Celtic 3

Postman delivers but Celtic prevail

IN THE matter of sprats being swallowed by whales, Whitehill Welfare went down much less smoothly than Keith, the highlanders' 10-1 humiliation by Rangers at Pittodrie 24 hours earlier seemed to have firmed up the resolve of the central lowlanders from the East of Scotland League.

The village team from Rosewell on Edinburgh's southern outskirts were never likely to be similarly embarrassed at Easter Road on a day when their defending was heroic, most notably from the goalkeeper, postman Scott Cantley, who can surely have been worked harder only by the Christmas rush.

Cantley, the Man of the Match, was well served by team-mates such as Steel, Brown, Gowrie, Furies and Bennett, but it was his series of five outstanding saves which denied Celtic a landslide victory. Even a few seconds from the end he topped everything by throwing himself to his left to push away a fierce 20-yard free-kick from Van Hoojdonk.

Until Donnelly replaced Walker and brought more

poise to the attack, Van Hoojdonk's right-foot flick at the end of a neat move involving Collins and Walker in the 39th minute was all the holders had to show for their domination. Donnelly scored the second in the 75th minute with an easy header after Wieghorst had nodded Collins's centre from the left back across the six-yard box. Van Hoojdonk had a similar task for the third goal, and his 19th of the season, five minutes later headed Collins's corner back-kick from the right.

Celtic will now be at home to Raith Rovers in the fourth round, while Rangers, for whom Cleland and Ferguson each scored hat-tricks, visit the winners of the postponed Clyde v Dundee tie.

Kilmarnock, who beat Hibernian 2-0 at Easter Road on Saturday, will be involved in the only other all-Premier-ship division tie against the winners of the game between Hearts and Partick Thistle.

Whitehill Welfare: Cantley, Furies, Gowrie, Bennett, Steel, Miller, Midgemi, Smith, 62min, Bru (Cameron, 80), Sinden, Brown, Duffin (92min, 85), Dallas, Marshall, Mohammar, McInnes, Boyd (O'Neill, 83), Hughes, Grant, Wieghorst, Cleland, Cleland, Walker (Donnelly, 87), Collins (McLaughlin, 83). Referee: L. Thow (Preston).



Lara led

Weekend results

Extensive list of sports results including football, tennis, and other events.

Handwritten text at the bottom of the page.







Becker ends his grand slam drought, page 12  
Woosnam confounds the sceptics, page 12

Manchester's tantalising cup draw, page 14  
Rodber recalled to England's pack, page 15

# SportsGuardian

## MILOSEVIC TUMBLE WINS PENALTY AND TERRACE BOMBARDMENT

FA Cup, fourth round: Sheffield United 0, Aston Villa 1

# Villa shrug off the snowballs

David Hopps

**F**EW of the Premiership's imports have been less appreciated this season than Aston Villa's Serbian striker Savo Milosevic, so it was apt that one of his most influential moments of the season yesterday should be met by a hail of snowballs.

Several inches of snow were cleared off the Bramall Lane surface to enable this tie to go ahead, and some of it was returned with disgust as the Kop protested over a penalty, won by Milosevic, which carried Aston Villa into the fifth round.

Villa's superiority deserved their 61st-minute goal, as did the quality of the move as Wright's excellent ball from defence was followed by Johnson's exact through-pass. What was less certain was the offence of the challenges on Milosevic, a half-push by Short followed by the slightest contact by the diving Kelly as the stumbling striker leapt over him; he was going nowhere.

Kelly was booked for his protests and Milosevic (accused of diving when, in truth, he was overbalancing) was booked for the rest of the match, which at least stopped the crowd jeering the inaccuracy of his shooting. Memories of United's refused claims for a penalty, when Charles seemed to handle Nilsson's left-wing cross, did not improve their mood.

Yorke's penalty was a moment of brazen confidence, the gentlest of chips which had still not crossed the line by the time Kelly, diving to his right, had hit the ground. Villa have not reached an FA Cup semi-final since 1967 — so long ago that even Paul McGrath had not been born — but their methodical display suggested they can survive most things that might come their way.



Fall before the storm... Milosevic, already stumbling from Short's challenge, completes his dive beyond Kelly to gain the decisive penalty MICHAEL STEELE

Ward and Veart both might have summoned up an injury-time equaliser in a frenzied finish but Villa survived, leaving Howard Kendall to suffer his first defeat in eight matches as United's manager. United's defeat of Arsenal in a third-round replay on the

same ground 11 days earlier had been inspired by the sparky right-side combination of Short and Ward. But Kendall, wary of Johnson's floating role behind Villa's front two, had elected to deploy Ward in a man-marking role and the full-back Short,

more advanced than usual, struggled to come to terms with the role. Johnson, intelligently, wasted no time in drawing Ward as far away from the right flank as possible. The result was that United's attacking threat was negligible

for half an hour, leaving Villa to lay siege to their goal. Johnson twice escaped Ward's attentions with far-post headers, and when Ward did dare to leave him unattended in the anxiety to kick-start United into life, Johnson immediately found space in front of United's central defenders and drove in a low shot which Kelly pushed around his left-hand post.

Villa's most unpredictable moments rested with Milosevic, whose excitable long-range shooting was so persistently astray that his sights must have been set by a fair-ground con-man. He would not win a teddy bear if he tried until Christmas.

With United making so little headway, Ward's marking role was all but abandoned after half an hour. It had an enlivening effect at both ends. Ward's first link with Short provided an opportunity for Patterson, which was saved by Bosnich, who also had to stretch to keep out Hutchin-

son's header after Tuttle had flicked on Nilsson's free-kick. Veart, the Australian striker who had scored the winner against Arsenal, replaced Hutchinson at half-time, and United were forced to make further adjustments three minutes after the interval when Cowans, playing against the club for whom he made nearly 450 league appearances, was carried off with a gashed shin.

With any degree of composure from Milosevic, Villa's margin of victory would have been far greater. Even his part in the penalty failed to inspire him. Johnson's precise pass set up an inviting opportunity 13 minutes from time, but by the time his reckless shot fell to earth it could have had snow on it — retaliation for all those snowballs.



Cocaine allegations... Wilander, left, and Novacek

John Davenport and David Irvine

**M**ATS WILANDER and Karel Novacek will take the International Tennis Federation to court in London this week seeking the right to defend themselves from allegations that they failed drug tests for cocaine at last year's French Open.

Yesterday's News of the World claimed the players had had high-level meetings with tennis officials over alleged failures. In response the ITF president Brian Tobin said in Melbourne: "I can't confirm that there have been any positive tests. The ITF won't be making any comment on this story."

American lawyers, acting for the players, said: "On behalf of our clients we categorically deny the allegation. We have lie-detector evidence proving our clients are telling the truth in denying the allegation."

Tobin insisted: "We won't comment on any individual tests or results that take place throughout the year. Should any particular athlete be found in violation of the rules after full and due process, then of course he or she will be subject to the penalties prescribed."

unbelievable story," Novacek said.

Cocaine is a prohibited substance on the tennis tour and a positive test attracts a three-month suspension of the first offence, a one-year suspension for a second failure and permanent suspension for a third. Despite its better-known use as a social drug, cocaine is unquestionably performance-enhancing, according to top drug-testing sources.

"There is no question that cocaine improves alertness," said Dr David Cowan, director of Britain's leading drug-testing centre at King's College, London. "It might also help a player through the pain barrier."

Recent high-profile cases suggest its use may be increasing among sportsmen. The Arsenal footballer Paul Merson admitted taking cocaine and the Leyton Orient defender Roger Stanislaus also failed a post-match test recently. His FA hearing is on Thursday.

The ITF conducts about 1,000 tests a year and has never had a failure. However, several top players have admitted taking cocaine — among them Bjorn Borg, Vitas Gerulaitis and Jennifer Capriati.

Boris Becker was fined by the ATP Tour two years ago for claiming that drug abuse was rampant in men's tennis. And the former British Davis Cup player David Lloyd said in the News of the World: "It's not unknown for players to sprinkle cocaine on their wrists and sniff it during a match."

Australian finale, page 12

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**Keitel's capacity for distilling moral and emotional crisis is central to his screen presence — his troubled countenance also makes him an attractive proposition as a director's alter-ego.**

page 4

**Guardian Crossword No 20,561**  
Set by Crispa

**Across**

- New rope — it's so easy to put away (7)
- Imagines a fool will accept all directions (7)
- Ground for surrounding the monarch with attendants (7)
- About time too, apparently! (7)
- Meant perhaps to retain some rooms (8)
- Chatter cut short by a minister (5)
- Superior port (5)
- A tool held by simple men the wrong way round (5)
- He's set right about gear with little hesitation (5)
- A store of Continental cannabis (5)
- Cerol is about fifty and so shy (5)
- Management slip-up (9)
- File around an article with maximum flexibility (7)

**Down**

- Getting a non-drinker into the bar is the little beast's end (3-4)
- Crack up appropriate share (7)
- Well turned out — and suffer for it (5)
- Letters are sent in indicating where skin's to be treated (9)
- A period of illness is concerning (5)
- Front men making a charge (9)
- Fiddle male? But that's appalling! (7)
- Pen tip used by a certain kind of writer (7)
- Say Rosemary appears perpetually naive (9)

**Answers to previous puzzles 20,554**

The week's winners of a Collins English Dictionary are Sheila Laves of Darlington, Co. Durham, Dr. A. Doughty of Shrewsbury, Shropshire, John May of Salisbury, Wiltshire, Graham Cordery of Sheffield, Essex, and Michael Cox of Biggleswade, Bedfordshire.

- Stick with bluish grey coating always (5)
- Took stock in sound fashion (7)
- Turning colour about rent required, he'll move to no purpose (7)
- Representation should be made by attendant social worker (7)
- The big fellow backing pre-emptive queen (7)
- Odd route to take — most odd! (5)
- The musician wanted a meal right away (5)

**Solution tomorrow**

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